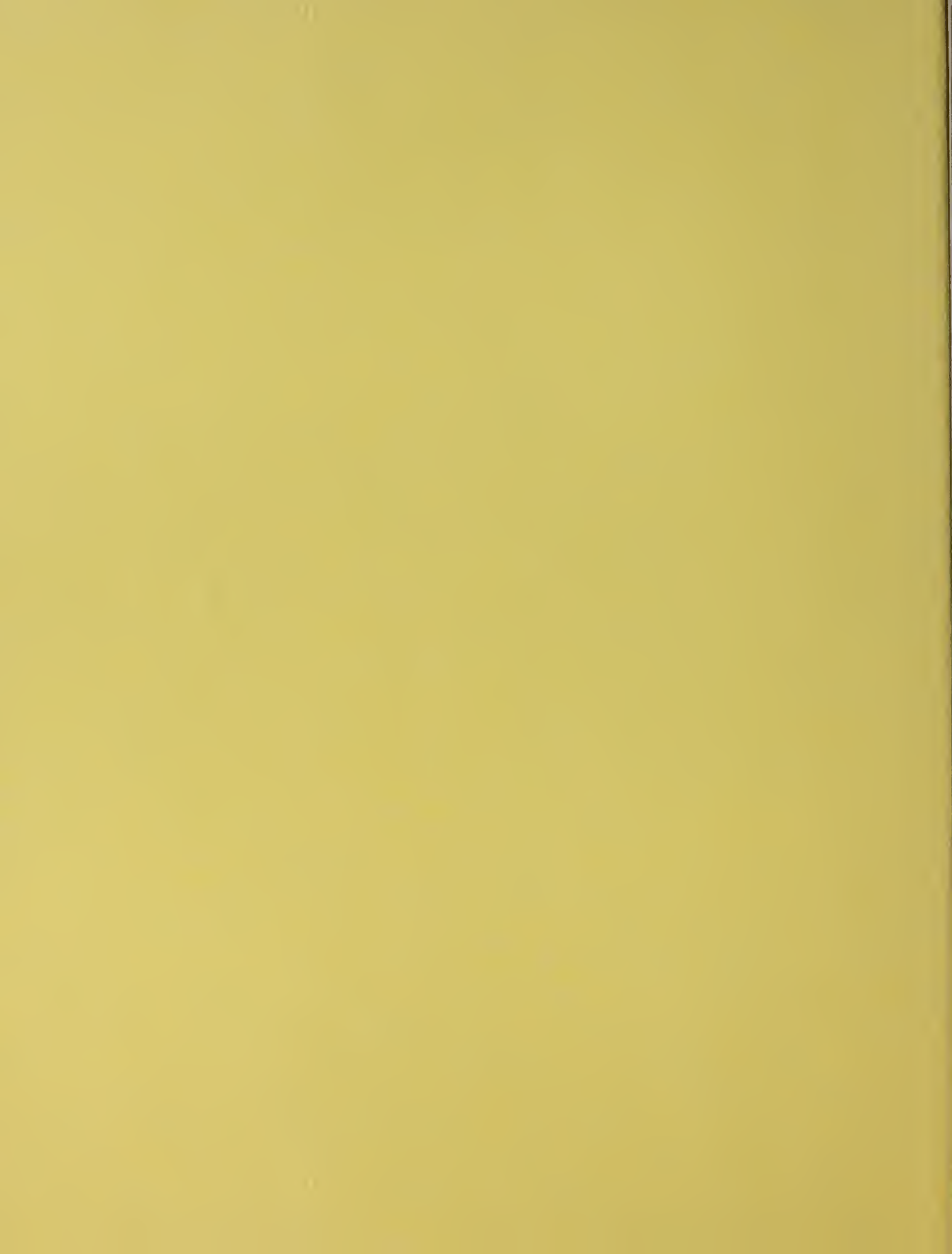


BRUCE HUNT

KOREAN MARTYRS

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"Korean Martyrs: Part I"

by

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Korea Mission
of the
Orthodox Presbyterian Church

Mr. Hunt, a missionary in Korea since 1928, has served there under the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions, and, from 1938, the Orthodox Presbyterian Church. His roots in Korea go back to 1897 when his missionary father first arrived in the country. The autobiography of his prison experiences in Korea at the time of the outbreak of World War II has recently been told in, *FOR A TESTIMONY* (Banner of Truth Trust, 1966). This paper on "Korean Martyrs" was originally prepared at the request of a Japanese publisher for inclusion in a Japanese edition of Foxe's *BOOK OF MARTYRS*. The book was eventually not published. Parts II and III will follow in successive issues of the Bulletin.

In writing the story of the Korean martyrs, I have tried to limit myself to those who actually died for the faith. In some ways, the almost richer story of those who survived persecution to tell their own stories, is left untold save as it helps to illustrate what the martyrs endured in being "faithful unto death".

MARTYRS UNDER OLD KOREA, 1603-1910

Although Nestorian priests were known to have accompanied both Genghis Khan and Kublai Khan when their hordes over-ran Asia, there is no record of "Christians" accompanying the Mongols on their invasion of Korea in 1231 A.D. E. A. Gordon, however, thought, from discoveries in Korean temples that there was remarkable evidence of early Christianity prior to, as well as synchronous with, the Patriarch Nestorius of Constantinople, who was condemned by the Council of Ephesus as a heretic in A.D. 431.¹

The first recorded entrance of a "Christian" witness in Korea came from Japan, and the first recorded Korean martyr died at the hands of Japanese. The first known contact of Korea with anything called "Christian" was the visit of Yoshitosi, Daimyo of Tsushima, a "Christian" who was sent by the Japanese government as an envoy to the Korean court in 1586. Later in 1591, General Konishi, a "Christian", led Japanese troops in Hideyoshi's well-known invasion of Korea.

In 1594 "the Jesuit priest, Gregorio de Cespedes and a Japanese Christian, came to Korea on the invitation of General Konishi, to work among the Japanese troops and the natives" according to H. N. Allen.²

In the 17th century, Korea had fleeting contacts with nationals of England, Scotland, Holland, Spain, Portugal, and France; some Protestants and some Catholics.

The first known Korean to lay down his life for the "Christian faith" was a Korean prince who after being baptized in Japan, went to Peking on his way to Seoul, but had to return to Japan where he was killed in the persecutions of the "Christians" under the Japanese Shogun (Generalissim●) identified by Allen as Tokugawa Iemitsu, in 1603. Allen does not give the prince's name.³ Otis Cary fixes the date of the persecutions under Iemitsu at 1623.⁴

Thomas Kim, a young Korean converted to "Chritianity" in 1783 under the Portuguese Bishop, Alexandria de Gloria, at Peking, was one of an early group of Korean converts. In April 1784 a "decree was issued against Christianity and Thomas Kim was arrested" under this order of the Emperor of Korea.⁵ "He was tortured and at last banished to a lonely island on charge of burning his ancestral tablets. Soon after his banishment, he died from the injuries caused by torture".⁶

A Chinese priest, James Chu, sent by the Bishop in Peking, arrived in Seoul in 1794. For some time he ministered to converts unmolested, receiving all who

¹Horace N. Allen, KOREA: FACT AND FANCY, Revell, 1908, p. 146.

²Ibid., p. 148.

³Loc. cit.

⁴Otis Cary, "A History of Christianity in Japan", p. 207

⁵Allen, op. cit., p. 150

⁶L. G. Paik, HISTORY OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN KOREA, 1832-1910, Union Christian College Press, 1929, p. 27.

would come, but eventually his presence was betrayed by a traitor in the flock, and for three months he took refuge in the woodshed of a "Christian" lady, later staying with her mother for three years, in hiding. A fresh persecution broke out. Believing that his presence was the cause of the new outbreak, Chu delivered himself to the authorities. He was beheaded in 1801, as was also the lady who had long shielded him. At this time many "Christians" were imprisoned, scourged and killed.

At one time Chu had sent secret letters to the Bishop of Peking, appealing to the king of Portugal to intercede for the "Christians" and at another time Alexander Whang, a Korean convert, wrote to the Bishop of Peking, urging that Christian nations of Europe send sixty or seventy thousand soldiers to conquer Korea. This last letter, though sewed into the garments of the messenger, was discovered and resulted in the strict enforcement of the anti-Christian edicts and intensification of the persecution.

Because Chu was a Chinese subject, the King of Korea felt obliged to write to the Emperor of China, justifying what he had done. It was defended on religious and political grounds. To begin with, the King "reaffirms his strict adherence to Confucian orthodoxy and declares that Christianity is 'utter blasphemy against heaven' and charges the heresy with stifling 'all feelings of filial piety, abolishing sacrifices to ancestors, and with burning the memorial tablets'. The political reason is even stronger than the religious one.--Then he explains that Chu was executed because he was the chief of the conspiracy and centre of all the correspondence with foreign nations".¹

On January 25, 1802, "A new edict was issued against Christianity, and on July 7, 1839 another appeared. On August 10 of the same year the French Bishop Imbert, who had arrived in Seoul only a few days over seven months before, "gave himself up to stay the persecution of Christians".

On September 21, 1839 Messrs. Imbert, with two other French priests, Pierre Philebert Maubant and Jacques Honore Chastan, were killed. Chastan had volunteered for Korea because he felt it was the only country, at that time, where he could be assured of winning a martyr's crown and, as the above shows, he was not disappointed. He had entered Korea, disguised as a mourner, just two years before his martyrdom to join Maubant, who had reached Seoul in 1836, still a year earlier.²

In spite of such difficulties, other Catholic missionaries came to Korea and by 1863 there were two bishops, eight priests and the number of "Christians" was reported to be 19,784.³

It seems to have been partly the involvement in politics of Catholic missionaries and converts that triggered the great persecution of 1866 under the Taiwon-kun, when Bishop Berneaux and eight priests were executed. "The persecution was not directed against missionaries alone. It was a nation wide search for "Christians", with imprisonment, cruel torture and merciless massacre. The regent published a new anti-foreign edict and fixed a tablet in the centre of the city". Paik says "there is no accurate estimate of the number of martyrs",⁴ but A. D. Clark estimates that "By 1868, 2,000 Christians had laid down their lives".⁵

¹Ibid., pp. 30-31.

²Ibid., p. 32.

³Ibid., p. 33.

⁴Ibid., p. 37.

⁵A. D. Clark, HISTORY OF THE KOREAN CHURCH, Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1961, p. 35.

Dr. George Paik, a Christian Korean writer, sums up this period of Roman Catholic martyrs by saying "Self-sacrifice, daring adventure, heroic patience and endurance, even the very sacrifice of life itself on the part of missionaries and their converts, deserve high praise. But even the infallible Roman Church has a great many shortcomings. Their converts are untaught in the Scriptures. From the founding of the church by Lee Seungheun, in 1784 to 1866, 82 years had passed, but no attempt had been made to translate a single Gospel or any portion of the Bible. ... Their political activities perhaps are the most undesirable features of the missionary proselytizing methods of Roman Catholics. Following the advice of their teachers, the Korean converts played the part of traitors to their country. They not only deceived officers of their government, but also violated the law of the land. In the case of Alexander Whang, as we have seen, Roman Catholics actually invited an armed intervention. As in Anam, Korea saw the French missionaries as the forerunners of French imperialism and the priests as pilots of the gun-boat".¹ This statement is of special interest because written by Dr. Paik in 1929 at a time when Korea was under the subjugation of Japan, another oriental and non-Christian power, and not overshadowed by a western "Christian" nation.

The outstanding and perhaps most frequently mentioned Protestant martyr of this period was the Rev. Robt. J. Thomas, who was born in Wales on September 7, 1840. With his wife, he had come to China as a missionary of the London Missionary Society in December, 1863. His wife died in Shanghai in March of 1864. In 1865, Thomas made a trip to Korea, distributing tracts and Scriptures and returned safely to China.²

In 1866, the year of the Taiwongun's great persecution, Thomas made another trip, this time aboard an American trading vessel, the "General Sherman". Sailing up the Taitong River, near Pyengyang, on the highest tide of the year, Preston, the owner, made contact with the governor of the province, telling him that he wished to open trade with Korea. "The governor was terrified at the idea and replied that it was impossible". In the meantime, the receding tide left the ship stuck on a bar and unable to withdraw. Lack of tact in dealing with Korean emissaries, coupled with the suspicion of foreigners already present in what had been called the "Hermit Nation", combined to create a situation heavy with explosive possibilities. The ship used its guns to intimidate the populace. On September 3, 1866, the people, incensed against the foreign intruders, set fire to the ship from river boats loaded with pine branches. Rev. Thomas was one of the five occidentals and nineteen orientals of the ship's crew and passengers who jumped into the water and were killed as they came ashore. As Rev. Thomas came ashore he offered a Bible to his slayer, but it was refused at the time. Then Mr. Thomas knelt down and prayed. Lee, Youngtai, a nephew of the executioner, who later graduated from Union Christian College (Soongsil) in Pyengyang, testified that his uncle felt he had killed a good man and later took the Bible home with him.³

When the first Protestant missionaries took up residence in Korea, "the law which had forbidden the acceptance of Christianity on penalty of death was unre-

¹L. G. Paik, *Op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.

²Harry Rhodes, *HISTORY OF THE KOREA MISSION - PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U.S.A., 1884-1934*, Chosen Mission of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., 1934, p. 71.

³*Ibid.*, p. 72.

pealed". A note in Dr. Allen's diary of December, 1884, speaking of Noh Tohsa, the first Korean Protestant to be baptized in the Seoul area, says he "borrowed my Chinese Testament on the afternoon of the day when the trouble broke out. I cautioned him through an interpreter that he would have his head cut off if found reading it, but he shook his head knowingly and took risks."¹ The first baptism itself took place behind closed doors on July 11, 1886.

While the Roman Catholics suffered the most in this period of Korean history, true to their character in other times and places, they also were one of the persecutors of early Protestants in Korea.

In 1901, it was estimated that there were 20,000 Catholics in Whanghai Province. They looked with disfavor upon the Protestant movement, which at that time was only seventeen years old, and they resorted to persecution to stop the Protestant advance. "The Protestants were beaten, their cattle poisoned and their money extorted. A system of black-mail and intimidation was resorted to".² The writer, in whose father's territory this persecution centered, vaguely remembers his father speaking of Catholics actually tearing down Protestant church buildings and in one instance of some men being killed by a Catholic mob, with the seeming approval of the priest. Rev. Yuh, Oonyung, from Song Wha, in Whanghai Province, now living in South Korea, but who is a little younger than the writer, says this happened in Tong Chang Po, An Ak Kun, and that several people were killed. Such reports, remembered from childhood, until further verified, must be accepted as hearsay evidence. The Rev. William B. Hunt, the writer's father, in writing about the trouble said, "Each time trouble arose, I reported to the French priest in charge. Each time he would reply that much or all that I told him was untrue, or that the trouble was not from his people. The Korean government was forced to make an investigation which brought out that all the facts charged were true".³ At the time of the trial in Haiju in 1903, the year the writer was born, a special commissioner from the Emperor, a French priest, and Drs. Underwood and Moffett were present. "The result of the trial was that fifteen Catholics were brought to Seoul and punished by being beaten from 70 to 100 blows each. Four were sentenced to the chain gang for three years and one for a year and a half. The persecution not only stopped but the Catholic church in the province was greatly weakened".⁴

The responsible international group of persons present at the trial and the severity of the punishment would seem to indicate that the persecution by the Catholics, at least, was more than hearsay.

Such was the atmosphere in which the Protestant church in Korea was born. Starting with nine communicant members in 1886, it grew until it had 32,509 adult baptized Christians in 1910, when the period closed.

THE PERIOD OF JAPANESE OCCUPATION - 1910-1945

Korea was annexed by Japan on August 22, 1910, "Although the leaders of the Korean Church and the missionaries had endeavored consistently to keep the Church from becoming involved in political movements", the Japanese, and especially their police and military leaders, found it hard to understand the spir-

¹L. G. Paik, Op. Cit., p. 91

²H. Rhodes, Op. Cit., p. 227

³Loc. Cit.

⁴Loc. Cit.

itual nature of the church. "Since the Japanese national religion of Shinto is both religious and political" - "they tended to assume that the missionaries must be in Korea as political agents".¹

In October, 1912, three students of the Seoul Kyungsin Boys' High School (Presbyterian) were arrested. Later, all the teachers and many students were arrested. Farther north, large numbers of people were arrested in Pyengyang, Syenchun and elsewhere, many of them leading Christians. The charge was not known at first, but word began to leak out from the prisons of cruel tortures, beatings, suffocating by pouring water down the nostrils of a man on his back, driving pieces of bamboo under the finger nails, hanging people up by their thumbs (tied behind their backs), keeping people in cramped cells where they could neither stand or sit, or shocking by first threatening them with red hot irons, then applying ice cold irons after the person had been blind-folded, etc.

At about the same time a robbery had taken place. A gang had made off with some gold bullion being shipped from one of the American gold mines, and it was thought to have something to do with this. It turned out, however, that the accused were being charged with conspiring to kill Governor General Terauchi, as he passed through Syenchun on December 29, 1910. Of the many arrested, 125 men (98 of them Christians) were indicted and brought to trial. The trial was held on the basis of the signed "confessions" of the prisoners. Several missionaries (including Dr. William N. Blair, the writer's father-in-law) were, according to the "confessions", said to have had a part in the conspiracy. A Japanese Christian lawyer defended the prisoners. In the open court, all but one, who seemed to be mentally affected, professed innocence, declaring that the signed "confessions" had been obtained under torture, and that there had been no conspiracy. In spite of the fact that the case could not be proved against them, 105 men were convicted. Their cases were appealed and all were acquitted except six men who were sentenced to ten years in prison, as Clark says, probably to save the face of the government. These men were all released after a few years. One of the six was Baron Yun, Chiho, a prominent lay leader of the Methodist church and uncle of the second president of the Republic of Korea.

The "Conspiracy Case did the church one useful service. It cleared the atmosphere of much of the government's suspicion of the missionaries and of the church".²

A disproportionate number of Christians were arrested and killed during the Independence Movement in 1919. Korea had been under Japan for only nine years when Woodrow Wilson, at the close of World War I, presented his famous "fourteen points" to the League of Nations. Among them was "the self-determination of small nations". The Korean leaders felt that silence at such a time would indicate their satisfaction with being ruled by Japan. A Declaration of Independence was secretly drawn up and signed by thirty-three prominent leaders in Korea. Fifteen of the signers, including the Rev. Kil, Sunjoo, a nationally beloved evangelist and Bible teacher, were Christians. This declaration was secretly distributed, then, at predetermined times and places throughout the country, publicly read amidst cheers of "Tai Han Tong Nip Mansei" ("10,000 years to the independence of Korea"). The Christians had joined on the condition, and it was written into the declaration itself, that violence should not be used. The

¹A. D. Clark, Op. Cit., p. 158

²Ibid., pp. 160-161.

Japanese authorities, taken wholly by surprise, retaliated ruthlessly. The writer saw crowds of people, who would not even arm themselves with sticks or stones, charged with bayonets, and heard rifles fired at demonstrators. Mission hospitals were filled with wounded. Many were killed, others were beaten and mangled, still others suffered from the terrible conditions in the overcrowded prisons. The writer remembers the long lines of wounded prisoners, which the children stopped their play to watch, as they were brought in, almost daily, during that March and April, from the surrounding country areas where demonstrations were still going on.

The place of leadership which Christians had in many communities, their lively interest in social questions, and the fact that in a country, where less than five percent of the people were Christians, fifteen out of the thirty-three signers were Christians, caused the Christians to be singled out more than others and a disproportionate number of Christians suffered. In Suwon, the whole congregation was called to the church, the building set on fire, and those attempting to escape shot down. Many Koreans, but especially Christians, fled to Manchuria and Siberia. The effects of that dispersion are still felt today, 43 years later. Those in prison preached to their fellows, leading many to Christ. Others in solitary confinement studied and memorized long passages of the Bible which they used later with telling effect in their ministries.

The brutality with which the authorities put down this movement aroused the sympathy of the civilized world, when the news finally leaked out, and the Japanese government, in the face of world public opinion, replaced the militaristic government with a more moderate government, under Baron Makoto Saito, a liberal minded man, friendly to Christianity, as Governor General. But the church did not have peace for long.

In the roughly twenty-year period between the above mentioned "105" or "Conspiracy Case" (as it is differently called) and the "Manchurian Incident", the chief cause of tension between the government and the church was over the matter of education. A law on education, enacted in 1911, stated the objective of education as the making of "loyal, good subjects". All schools were to be registered with the government within ten years, and no school could be registered except on the government's conditions. Among others, the conditions demanded that the government's curricula must be followed, most of the teaching was to be done in Japanese, teachers had to be approved by the government and could not be dismissed without permission of the government, and finally, religious services could not be held or religious instruction given in these schools.

The missionaries of the Northern and Southern Presbyterian Missions were especially strong in their opposition to having mission schools registered under these conditions. Particularly, the forbidding of religious instruction prevented the schools from being Christian schools in the true sense of the Word. Some missions argued that education, as such, is a good, whether done by Christian teachers or not, and, if sponsored by Christians, could be called Christian education. Others argued that any education, as long as it was done by Christian teachers, even if formal Christian teaching was not allowed, was Christian education; and did not such education given by Christian teachers serve as a kind of bait, drawing people to Christianity, and giving teachers an opportunity to influence pupils outside of school hours? But others held only that can be designated Christian Education where Christian teachers taught the subjects and were free to give Christian instruction beside and together with those subjects.

After the 1919 "Independence Movement", under the liberal Governor General, Baron Saito, the regulations were changed to allow for two kinds of schools - "registered" and "designated". "Registered" schools were those which fully met the government standards, including exclusion of religious instruction from the curriculum. "Designated" schools had to meet all the other government requirements, but were allowed to give Christian instruction.

All was not easy sailing even then. Teachers willing to accept positions in Mission schools, and who might be qualified as Christian teachers by the Christian Schools, were often turned down by the government. Mission school principals combed the Japanese empire for Christian teachers, who would also be acceptable to the Japanese authorities.

Furthermore, even good Christian students were often reluctant to enroll in a "Designated" school because those holding diplomas from "Designated" schools were always considered to have a second-rate education however high the school's standards of education might be, and had difficulty transferring to, or getting into, "Registered" High Schools and Universities for further studies. Difficulty was also encountered in getting the usually better salaried government jobs after graduation.

In contracts under which the schools were designated, the Japanese authorities kept one condition that was later to be used tellingly against the Mission schools. It was that the objective of education was the making of "loyal, good subjects". In accepting this condition, the mission authorities reasoned that there is nothing that will make a person a "loyal, good subject" as much as leading him to be a good Christian.

When the military clique began to make itself felt in the Japanese government, however, its interpretation of this was that "loyal, good subjects" were those only who showed reverence to the Japanese Emperor, (who was considered a deity) by bowing before shrines, to the east, or toward the Emperor's palace - in other words, participation in Shinto ceremonies. The word Shinto means "the way of the god" or "the way of the gods". The ceremonies are usually conducted at "Jinja" which means a "spirit house". Shinto priests often officiated even at "patriotic Shinto" ceremonies, calling spirits, addressing words of comfort or prayers of adoration or thanksgiving and petition to them.

At first, there was little question in anybody's mind about the religious and non-Christian nature of the ceremonies. As the Korean pastors of one Presbytery put it, "We know that the worship of deified spirits at the shrines is contrary to God's command". At the time that the issue was being sharply debated, a Japanese official himself said, "the great majority of the Japanese people believe that spirits are being worshipped in these (patriotic shinto) ceremonies".¹

But Christians, often faced with the alternative of losing their jobs in the school or government or expulsion from school, or with the closing of institutions built up through years of sacrifice etc., were sometimes able to rationalize themselves into accepting the government's distinctions between "religious Shinto" and "patriotic" or "State Shinto", and attending ceremonies at Shinto Shrines as a "patriotic act". An attempt to draw parallels between such

¹Ibid., pp. 195, 197.

ceremonies and the laying of wreaths on the tomb of the unknown soldier in the west, or saluting the flag, was often made.

A majority of the Northern Presbyterian missionaries and the Southern Presbyterian missionaries, the latter with the firm backing of their home board, took a strong stand against shrine worship and mission schools in the Southern Presbyterian area were closed immediately, rather than have the pupils or teachers participate in shrine ceremonies as representatives of the mission schools. The majority of the Northern Presbyterian Mission opposed shrine worship but was handicapped in making as clear a testimony by a vigorous minority, backed by the home board, which did not take such a serious view of shrine worship. Eventually however, the Northern Presbyterian Mission closed its schools or, under pressure from the Board, turned some over to Koreans (a compromise move) to operate.

In the meantime, there were individual cases of teachers who were imprisoned or deprived of their teaching certificates, of students who were expelled from school or even imprisoned. As early as 1935, the lives of Dr. George McCune and (later) of Dr. Samuel A. Moffett, who were in charge of Soongsil College, and Soongsil Academy in Pyengyang, were threatened by members of a fanatically nationalistic organization of Japanese ex-soldiers. Police "protection" seemed designed more to hamper movement, and the police were not able to give any assurance of the safety of the missionaries' persons. Dr. McCune and Dr. Moffett, who had spent long years of fruitful service in the establishing of the Korean church, were forced to leave the country almost secretly, as though they were common fugitives from law.

Originally it had been represented that Shrine worship was necessary only for students, to make them "loyal and good subjects". But, after Japan occupied Manchuria and launched out on her "holy war" against China, the military clique, who were now in the driver's seat, insisted that loyalty must be shown through Shrine worship by all subjects.

School children were made to put up shrines in their homes, as well as to bow to the one in the school yard every day and at the larger public shrines on special occasions.

People working in public offices were made to bow to shrines in the offices daily and at public shrines on special occasions.

Later it was insisted that all public meetings, including such diverse Christian services as Presbytery and General Assembly meetings, and Womens' Missionary Society meetings, be opened with some form of patriotic Shinto bowing.

Eventually, it came down to compulsory village, then house by house, representation and sometimes even to "every individual" attendance at Shinto ceremonies.

The penalties for non-attendance or opposition to Shinto ceremonies were of varying degrees. In a police state, where almost everything one does depends on permits, there were countless ways where public officials could slow down, and make almost ineffective, anything attempted by one who was in their "black books" for non-cooperation in Shinto ceremonies. In the war years of rationing, one's stomach was touched and life itself threatened by the mere refusal of a ration card to a "non-cooperator". Children were beaten or expelled from school and even imprisoned for refusing to bow at shrines.

Informers kept the police posted on the teaching of missionaries, ministers and even of ordinary laymen. Some people, and the writer was one of them, had to notify the police of their movements about the country, reporting at the local police station whenever they arrived or left a town.

In Manchuria, the Rev. Lloyd Henderson, a Presbyterian missionary working among Koreans, was shot to death by "bandisŏ" (?) under very suspicious circumstances, while travelling on a moonlight night under Japanese military guard.

In Chungju, the Rev. Otto De Camp and Dr. D. S. Lowe of the Northern Presbyterian Mission, were imprisoned for removing a small unwanted Japanese shrine from the home of one of the Korean workers living on mission property. They were in the penitentiary for several months and treated like ordinary criminals, being made to walk to trial bare-footed, with hands bound and a basket-like hood over their heads to prevent them from being recognized by passers-by.

Slapping and kicking were almost the routine treatment for Koreans being interrogated by the policy. Prison diet was intended to barely sustain life. Many were tortured and beaten to insensibility. Heatless cells caused much suffering. Lice, fleas, and bedbugs were the prisoners' constant companions. The odor of the toilet kept in the cell, and only emptied occasionally; the lack of liberty to get medical attention when needed; being deprived of reading or writing materials, and the sadistic delight in making life miserable for prisoners, enjoyed by some of the gaolers; - all added up so that one could prefer a quick martyr's death to the prolonged living death, no less a martyr's, which might or might not still culminate in death.

The threat hung over the whole church. Several had already been in prison one or two times over opposition to shrine worship, when the matter was finally forced by the Japanese government on the General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church for decision in 1938.

By orders from the top, commissioners to the Assembly were first dealt with individually in their home areas, where they were known and where the authorities had many ways of making life difficult for non-cooperators. They were given the choice of: (1) going to the Assembly and voting that shrine worship was not sinful; (2) going, but keeping silent on the shrine issue; (3) not going to the Assembly. The Rev. Kim, Sundoo refused all three, and attempted to go to the Assembly anyway, to make his protest, but was arrested and taken off the train and held in prison until the Assembly was over.

The missionaries, too, had been individually, and then collectively, warned that they were not to say anything on the subject, as it was a matter for the Koreans to settle. They had even been ordered not to discuss the matter.

The authorities added to these the precaution of having plain-clothes men follow each commissioner to the Assembly from his home town, and the fateful Assembly was held in the atmosphere of an armed camp. Armed police, dressed as for a riot, guarded all entrances. None but commissioners, with their plain-clothes men shadows, were allowed in the West Gate Church in Pyengyang where the meeting was held.

All commissioners were ordered to go as a group to worship at the shrine before the opening of Assembly. The convening of Assembly was delayed for the arrival

of high police authorities who were given places of honor at the front of and facing the Assembly.

When the actual motion, declaring shrine worship permissible, was made, the moderator, acting under orders from the government, refused to allow any debate except that favoring the motion. Dr. William N. Ballir, followed by the Revs. Kinsler and Hill, sought the floor and when it was refused, lodged their protests. The writer also seeking the floor to make a point of order, demanding his right as a commissioner to speak, was physically forced from the floor by the police stationed around the auditorium, and only released on orders from their chief.

The motion was put, and received a weak affirmative vote. The negative was not put, but the moderator declared the motion carried. Again protests were not allowed. A committee of missionaries drew up a written protest which was signed by all the missionary commissioners, but the police prevented it from being recorded in the Assembly minutes, despite the common rule for the treatment of protests.

Another matter which came up at the same muzzled Assembly was the approval of a long disputed law on controlling religious activities. The government had enacted a law in which places of religious worship and the right to conduct any form of religious worship or teaching were made dependent on government permit. The question was whether the Assembly would approve conforming to this law. Should man ask permission of the government to do what God had commanded? As the Rev. Lee, Moonju of Taegu, whose saintly leadership and stand were clearly known, non-committally put it at the time, "We may today pass a motion agreeing to conform to this law, but in doing so we will go contrary to what Presbyterians have always stood for."

Up until the General Assembly's compromising action, individuals who were being pressured to worship at shrines could claim the backing of the greater numbers represented by the church and its laws. Furthermore, as the Japanese constitution guaranteed religious freedom, they felt comparatively safe when they could appeal to the law of the church. Now, any who refused to worship at the shrines could be represented by the government as individual fanatics, not even recognizing the laws of their own church, with likely some motive of rebellion against the government behind their actions. Every man now had to stand on his own feet. The Korean church had come into the "Valley of Decision".

Church leaders were the special targets. Some went to Japan "for post-graduate studies" to hide under the anonymity of a student's role. Others secreted themselves in country places until their identity was discovered and they could hide themselves no longer, then they fled elsewhere. Some left the ministry and went into secular work. Still others went to Manchuria or China where it was mistakenly thought that the government was so busy waging the "Holy War" against China that it would not have time to search out non-conformists in the church.

Many broke. There was the evangelist who worked with me. He'd known prison before, during rioting in his student days. "I could die for Christ, but I can't endure the thought of years in prison, just deteriorating mentally and physically". Or the minister who told me, "It's different for you Americans; you can go to your homeland and get away from it; but for us Koreans there's no place to which we can escapt". When I suggested that death for Christ was a way of escape, he said, "But I don't want to die".

There was the minister whose health had already been badly affected during one imprisonment. He said that, for himself, he was willing to die, but what would become of the lambs and weak ones in the flock, the ignorant old women, the illiterate poor, and the children? If he refused to compromise, the church doors would be closed, he would be imprisoned, and they would have no place to go to hear the words of life.

Others worried about who would care for aged parents, wife or children.

Laymen with convictions were also soon brought to light, as the government began to demand shrine worship in local churches, then on the home and even individual level. Now, they too began to be hounded like the leaders.

While some broke, others stood. There was the poor pop-corn vendor, known to the writer in Manchuria, who did not yield even when deprived of his livelihood by the cutting off of his corn and kerosene ration because he would not contribute to the building of a local shrine.

There was the mother, arrested, (while heavy with child) because she had taught her daughter, the head of her class in school, to be willing to forfeit her education rather than bow at the shrine. The Japanese principal of the school, though believing he had to expel the girl for the sake of school discipline, wept as he did so at losing one of his better pupils.

There was the deaconess, and her husband, who, with a one-month old baby on her back, was imprisoned because, with other members of the congregation, she had declared herself against shrine worship.

There was the fifteen year old son of Evangelist Lee, Yonghee (one of the martyrs) who was locked up for standing with his father against shrine worship.

There was the bearded farmer, Chun, Choisun, a "Yungsoo" or church leader, and his grown son, Deacon Chun, Choonduk, who were sentenced to six and eight years respectively, and only released by the ending of World War II.

Or again there was the godly nurse, Miss Kim, Taekyung, working with Doctor and Mrs. Roy Byram in their mission dispensary in Harbin, who was arrested, and sentenced to eight years in prison for opposing Emperor worship.

These are just a few of the cases known personally to the writer, but their stories were matched all over Korea. The same thing went on from Koje and Namhae Islands off the south coast of Korea to the Siberian border in Manchuria.

The sixteen years since Korea's independence from Japan have convinced me of one thing: that no one person knows or possibly ever will know the number and names of all of those who died, one or more in almost every one of Korea's thirteen provinces, as a result of their testimony against shrine worship. It would be even more impossible to get a list of those who, though they did not die, were willing to die for their Saviour, and suffered perhaps as much or more than some of those who died. At one time I was able to collect a list of over thirty who unmistakably died for their faith over the shrine issue. Dr. Allen Clark says "more than fifty church workers suffered martyrdom".¹ Space and time do not permit chronicling the stories of all of those that we know about. Having tried above to give a picture of the over-all struggle which

¹Ibid., p. 202.

produced the martyrs of this period, I want to now, (1) show the areas in which the struggle was more concentrated, with (2), some of the better known witnesses and a few cases where, though the witnesses are not so well known, we have the story in rather full detail.

There were four general areas in which the Korean opposition to shrine worship seemed more especially concentrated, and even somewhat organized: South Kyung-sang Province, the city of Pyengyang, North Pyengyang Province and Manchuria. No area, however, was without its individual and in some cases corporate witness. The ringing witness of the Southern Presbyterian missionaries in the Chulla provinces, in closing the mission schools rather than compromise, has already been mentioned.

In South Kyungsang Province a team of the Revs. Han, Choo, and Choi, and Evangelist Whang, toured the churches, strengthening the faith of the Christians. Several of the martyrs and nine of those held by the Japanese in the Pyengyang penitentiary to the end of the war were from this province.

In Pyengyang, the strong fight put up by the missionaries, together with the Christian institutions and churches, and especially a regular day-break prayer-meeting in the home of Rev. Dwight Malsbary of the Independent Board, attended by many Koreans, seemed to have effects reaching all parts of Korea.

In North Pyengan Province the movement seems to have centered around several dynamic individuals who moved among the people. The comparatively longer sentences recommended by the Japanese court for Rev. Lee, Kisun and Evangelist Kim, Ninhee bear out what I have heard of the activities of these two men in North Korea in strengthening God's people and helping them to stand.

In Manchuria, a covenant binding the non-conformists together, was a source of strength not only in the immediate area, but seems to have strengthened those Christians throughout the country, who were loosely joined together through a kind of Christian grapevine.¹ When I returned to Korea in 1946, after the end of World War II, I found this covenant which was originally written in North Manchuria, being used in Pusan, in the extreme south of Korea.

Some people, for different reasons, were dealt with individually in different localities throughout the country. The most famous of these was the Rev. Son, Yangwon. His story will be more properly taken up under the martyrs of the Communist period, when he actually died. But there were two places where the Japanese gathered together the leading "offenders" on the shrine issue, to try them as a group: (1) Pyengyang and (2) Antung, Manchuria.

I do not have a list of all of those originally imprisoned in Pyengyang. Four, whose stories will follow, died there. There were twenty-one whose names are listed below, who, having been gathered from various parts of Korea, were held in the Pyengyang penitentiary to the end of the war. Though most of them were held for around five years in prison, and went through court examinations, and hardships similar to those which resulted in the death of the four just referred to, their trial was never actually finished. In spite of their never having been actually declared guilty, policy records are said to have been found at the close of the war showing that the Japanese authorities planned to execute

¹The covenant to which Mr. Hunt refers had been prepared by himself before his imprisonment.--Ed.

them in the last desperate months of World War II and only the actual surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945 seems to have saved those who had not already weakened and given in, or succumbed to death itself.

The four counts on which an attempt to get conviction had been sought were:

- a. Violating public peace
- b. Les Majesté
- c. Irreverance
- d. Giving aid to the enemy

The names of the twenty-one who endured to the end in prison and were released only by Japan's surrender, together with their church office, home town, and the number of charges against them are listed below, grouping them under the provinces from which they came.

A. North Pyengan Province

<u>Name</u>	<u>Church Office</u>	<u>Home Town</u>	<u>No. of Charges</u>
Lee, Keesun	Pastor	Weejoo	4
Kim, Ninhee	Evangelist	Syenchun	3
Suh, Chungwhan	Evangelist	Kangkei	3
Pak, Singun	Deacon	Syenchun	3
Ahn, Eesook (f.)	Teacher	Pakchun	3
Lee, Kwangmook	Layman (druggist)	Weejoo	3
Kim, Whajoon	Evangelist	Weejoo	2
Koh, Hungbong	Pastor	Kangkei	2
Yang, Tairok	Deacon	Chosan	2
Kim, Hungnak	Layman (farmer)	Chungju	2
Chang, Doohee	Secretary	Wewon	2

B. South Pyengan Province

Chai, Chungmin	Pastor	Kaichun	2
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C. South Kyungsang Province

Han, Sangdong	Pastor	Pusan	3
Lee, Injai	Evangelist	Miryang	3
Oh, Yunsun	Elder	Hamyang	3
Choo, Namsun	Pastor	Kuchang	2
Cho, Soo-ok (f.)	Bible Woman	Hadong	2
Choi, Dukchi(f.)	Bible Woman	Kosung	2
Lee, Hunsook	Evangelist	Haman	2
Son, Myungbok	Evangelist	Changwon	2
Pang, Keisung	Evangelist	Pusan	2

PASTOR CHOO, KICHUL

The most widely known martyr of this period was the Rev. Choo, Kichul, Pastor of the Sanchunghyun Presbyterian Church in Pyengyang. Pastor Choo was born in 1897 in the town of Oongchun, South Kyungsang Province (between Pusan and Masan). It was the town from which Korea's famous Admiral Lee, Soonsin oper-

ated, when he defeated the Japanese fleet, using the world's first armor-plated battleship, the turtle boat, in July, 1591. It is also one of the first places where Korea had any contact with "Christianity", when history records that a Catholic priest accompanying the invading Japanese army set foot in Korea. Choo was the fourth son of a non-Christian family. Though his father was not a Christian, he seems not to have seriously opposed Christianity.

After grammar school, Choo went to a well known Christian private school in north Korea, known as Ohsan Academy. This was not a mission school, but one started by Korean Christians. The principal was a man of strong Christian character, having a moulding effect on the lives of the young people who studied under him. He was also a real Korean patriot. His love of his country and people carried over to his students. Choo became a nominal Christian during his five years at Ohsan Academy. Dr. Arch Campbell, in "The Christ of the Korean Heart" says that it was during revival meetings held by Korea's "Billy Sunday", Kim, Ikdo, that Choo came to experience what it was to be born again.¹ He attended Chosen Christian College (now Yonsei University) and Pyengyang Presbyterian Theological Seminary. Following his graduation from Seminary, he served churches in Pusan and Masan, in south Korea, before being called to the large Sanchunghyun Presbyterian Church in Pyengyang. Though still comparatively young, he was recognized as a leader in the Korean Presbyterian Church, and was one of the wiser heads seeking to hold the church together when the denomination was torn by sectional factions. He was a man of keen intelligence and good education, with dignity and restraint in speech and action. I especially recall his address at one of the General Assembly's day-break prayer meetings, shortly before his arrest. Though he did not mention the Shrine issue specifically, his quiet, forceful, unfolding of God's Word left no doubt in the minds of his hearers what he believed the stand of the church should be in the matter of Shrine worship. It was a refreshing breath of clear talk in a time of much fuzzy thinking.

Though Choo's stand was pretty much common knowledge, at first the authorities hesitated to imprison him for mere opposition to Shrine worship, because the Japanese Constitution guaranteed "freedom of religion". A deacon in Choo's church, however, was a member of the "Christian Farmer's Movement" which was under suspicion of the police as being a front for anti-Japanese, patriotic activities, and Choo was first arrested in 1938, as being, through the deacon, connected with this movement. He was taken to a prison in Weesung and held for half a year. He spent much of this time praying, reading, and memorizing the Scriptures. While the supposed cause for his arrest was his political activities, his opposition to Shrine worship did not go unnoticed, and was brought up in the trial, in Taegu. He was acquitted of the political charge but threatened before being released.

On his first Sunday after release, he spoke for an hour, repeating Scripture verses in regard to tribulation, which he had memorized. Detectives were in the audience as usual.

Later, after much prayer, he preached with great freedom on the subject of Shrine worship, declaring that bowing at shrines was idolatry. This was in August of 1939. He was arrested again. It was not easy to go. His blind mother, eighty years old, asked "Where are you going, and leaving me?". His children were cry-

¹Arch Campbell, THE CHRIST OF THE KOREAN HEART, Falco Publ., 1954, p. 57.

ing. But as in so many of the cases of those who were enabled to be faithful to the end, he was backed by a consecrated wife, a real "prayer warrior". She would not pray for her husband's release, but that the Lord would help him to "Be strong and of good courage to the end and to be offered up a sacrifice on the altar of the Korean Church." His congregation, too, backed him with their prayers, not for his release but that he would be "faithful to the end".

The authorities brought pressure on the Presbytery to declare Choo's pulpit vacant, after his arrest, and to replace him with a compromising minister. The congregation refused to listen to the traitorous committee from Presbytery singing "A Mighty Fortress is our God" over and over for several hours to drown out the voices of the Committee members. Police attempted to break up the meeting, roughly handling men and women alike, including white-haired Mrs. Bernheisel, a senior missionary, who'd been helping with the women's work of the congregation for many years. The congregation met every morning at 5 a.m. to pray for their pastor even in the cold and dark of the winter months.

On the occasion of his last arrest his examination was accompanied by flogging from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m. and he finally fainted. Altogether he was examined under torture ten different times, but did not give in. Kim, Yangsun was in the same cell with him, and they would often have prayer together. Kim, Yangsun, who was later released, reports that he'd often pray, "Lord, don't leave this weak Choo, Kichul too long, but hurry up and take him away".

He was in prison for six years. During his last twenty days he was able to eat practically nothing and his body wasted away. His wife, though ill herself, visited him in prison on what turned out to be the next to his last day on earth.

The little snatches of things he said, which she brought away from that visit, give us a window into the heart of this well known Korean martyr.

He was a man of human affections: "I want to see my mother" - "Take care of mother" (then over 80 years old and blind).

He was aware that death was near, and thought about where his body should be laid. When the prison guard suggested that Mrs. Choo take her husband home to die, Choo said, "Where will I go? This is my house". And to his wife he said, "Leave two more places on Tol Pak Mountain", referring to burial places, probably for his mother and his wife.

That his twenty days of not being able to eat was not a self-inflicted fast can be seen in the words showing that he longed to have a change from the rough prison diet for his disease ridden body, "I wish I could eat some Meem" (a mild Korean gruel).

Mostly there was concern for the church: "I'm going, but what of the Sanchunghyun sheep?" - "I'm going to the Lord and will pray for the Sanchunghyun Church and for the Korean church forever, so be at peace".

There was a close understanding between husband and wife, often mistakenly thought by occidentals not to exist among orientals: "I've gone the road I'm supposed to go" - "Follow in my steps" - "Let's meet in heaven".

Pastor Choo died at 9:30 p.m. on April 13, 1944.

That his light, which shone so far, also shone brightly at home is witnessed not only by the closeness of understanding between husband and wife but also in his children. One, especially, was outstanding, an Evangelist in North Korea. I never met him, but the crop of keen, consecrated, young men, able in God's Word, now serving in churches throughout south Korea, who came from this young evangelist's church during the time of his ministry, is exceptional. It has made me often wish that I could have met this young man who so powerfully moulded many lives for good. He was martyred under the Communists and has gone to join his father in the great "cloud of witnesses", that "multitude which no man could number" who stand "before the throne and before the Lamb".

(To Be Continued)

BOOK NOTES
Compiled by the Editor

SHINTO AND THE NEW RELIGIONS OF JAPAN

Anesaki, Masaharu, HISTORY OF JAPANESE RELIGION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SOCIAL AND MORAL LIFE OF THE NATION, Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Publ. Comp., 1963, 423 pp., \$7.50, Illustrated.

Reprint of a title originally published in 1930. The author was a well known professor at Tokyo University and a guest professor at Harvard University at one time.

Germany, Charles H., PROTESTANT THEOLOGIES IN MODERN JAPAN: A HISTORY OF DOMINANT THEOLOGICAL CURRENTS FROM 1920-1960. Tokyo: International Institute for the Study of Religions, 1965, 239 pp., \$4.50, Paperback.

An excellent introduction to the patterns of Japanese theology, centered on the question of the church's relation to society. The author, a Methodist missionary in Japan for 17 years, now serves the Methodist Church in an executive capacity with responsibilities over mission works in Japan, Korea, Okinawa, and the Philippines. The title originally a doctoral thesis written at Union Seminary, New York, is one of the few available in English that relies on a direct knowledge of the Japanese sources. The perspective of the work is strongly sympathetic to dialectical theology.

Herbert, Jean, SHINTOISM: AT THE FOUNTAINHEAD OF JAPAN. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1967, 622 pp., 70s.

Hiyani, Antei, NIHON SHUKYO SHI (History of Religions in Japan). Tokyo: United Church of Christ in Japan, 1962, 358 pp., \$1.75.

Second, revised edition of a 1951 title. The work deals with the 2500-year old history of development of Shintoism, Buddhism, and Christianity. The author serves on the staff of the Tokyo Union Theological Seminary where he teaches the history of religions.

Kitagawa, Joseph M., RELIGION IN JAPANESE HISTORY. London: Columbia University Press, 1967, 72s.

Lee, Kun Sam, THE CHRISTIAN CONFRONTATION WITH SHINTO NATIONALISM. Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1966, xi, 270 pp., \$3.50, Paperback.

A doctoral thesis originally submitted to the Free University of Amsterdam in 1962 by the now professor of Systematic Theology at Koryu Seminary, Pusan, Korea. Largely an historical orientation to the conflict of Christianity and Shinto in Japan from 1868 to 1945. Chapter VI chronicles in some detail the resistance movement in Korea, and Chapter VII is a summing up, and more Biblically oriented perspective on the whole issue. Remains the most reliable study of Shinto from a Biblical point of view. Excellent bibliography of Japanese source materials. Unfortunately no index.

McFarland, H. N., THE RUSH HOUR OF THE GODS: A STUDY OF NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN JAPAN. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967, xvi, 267 pp., \$5.95, Illustrated.

Not on a par with Raymond Hammer's JAPAN'S RELIGIOUS FERMENT but decidedly important reading. Limiting his study to the sociological rather than the theological, McFarland looks for the antecedents of these "new" religions and then concentrates on five of them in particular.

Ross, Floyd H., SHINTO: THE WAY OF JAPAN. Boston: Beacon Press, 1965, 187 pp., \$7.95, Illustrated.

The International Review of Missions called this title "an unsatisfactory and frequently misleading effort to describe an ancient religion of Japan as it has adapted itself into a way of life in modern secularized Japan." Dr. Susuma Uda, writing in the Westminster Theological Journal (May, 1966, pp. 217ff.) agreed.

Spae, Joseph J., "Morality: the Shinto Approach", JAPAN Missionary Bulletin, Tokyo, June, 1966, pp. 269-278.

Terada, Toshi, "Shinto and the Growth of Christianity in Japan", Studies in the Christian Religion, Kyoto, March, 1965, pp. 32-43.

Terada, Toshi, "Shinto and the Crisis of Family in Japan", Church and Society, Bangalore, December, 1965, pp. 26-28.

Thomsen, Harry, THE NEW RELIGIONS OF JAPAN. Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Publ. Comp., 1963, 269 pp., \$5.00, Illustrated.

Young, John M. L., THE TWO EMPIRES IN JAPAN: A RECORD OF CHURCH-STATE CONFLICT. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1959, 243 pp., 10/6, Paperback, Illustrated.

The history of the conflict between Christianity and Shinto in Japan, concentrating on the war and post-war years after 1945. The author, a missionary in the orient from 1938, has recently accepted a post on the faculty of Covenant College, Tennessee.

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"Korean Martyrs: Part II"

by

The Rev. Bruce F. Hunt

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PASTOR CHOI, SANGNIM

Pastor Choi, Sangnim was another South Kyungsang Province man who laid down his life for the faith, in the Pyengyang penitentiary. From the same province as Pastor Choo, he returned to that area after graduating from the Pyengyang Seminary where Choo graduated. Unlike Choo, Pastor Choi was just a simple country parson on one of Korea's largest islands off the south coast, Namhae. The exemplary life of his family since liberation, not true of all the offspring of the martyrs, witnesses the piety of the humble minister's home. He had been active in starting and ministering to churches on this island and strengthened his people in their stand against Shrine worship.

In 1940, although being watched as a "suspicious character" by the police because of his opposition to Shrine worship, he joined Rev. Choo, Namsun of Kuchang, Rev. Han, Sangdong (then of Masan), and the then-"Evangelist" Whang, Chuldo of Chinju in a campaign to visit the Christians in the South Kyungsang Presbytery, which, at that time, took in all of South Kyungsang Province. Their purpose was to strengthen the brethren in their stand against Shrine worship.

Later that year, he was arrested and imprisoned, first in South Kyungsang Province, with many others, then at the penitentiary in Pyengyang. According to Rev. Lee, Injai, then an evangelist from the same province, and one of Pastor Choi's fellow prisoners in Pyengyang, Pastor Choi suffered unspeakable hardships and often came nigh to death from the contagious diseases that stalked the vermin-infested jails. He died during the month of May, 1945, in the Pyengyang penitentiary, only a matter of months before Korea's liberation.

ELDER PAK, KWANJOON

Elder Pak, Kwanjoon was rather widely known throughout the nation because he, with his son and Miss Ahn, Eesook, a public school teacher, carried the protest against Shrine worship into the almost "sacred halls" of the Imperial Diet in Japan.

Elder Pak was born on the 13th of April, 1875, in Yengbyen, in North Pyengan Province, far from the above-mentioned two martyrs. He came from a well-to-do family and in his boyhood studied the Confucian classics and Buddhism.

He became a Christian in 1905 and in 1910 undertook the study of medicine, starting a small hospital in 1914. He became more and more interested in preaching the gospel, and, in 1921, left his hospital work to give full time to preaching as a layman. In 1923 he started a church in the Anju district in South Pyengan Province. As the years went by, the burden of speaking out against compromise with Shintoism became heavier upon him. In 1937, he decided to speak out publicly to Governor General Minami. He also wrote letters to prominent public officials and leaders in the church in Japan. This called the attention of the police to him, and he began to be followed by detectives.

Though he did not have a great deal of money, he decided he must go to Japan and make his protest to the Diet itself. People thought he was foolish. Travel within the country was constantly being checked by the police and he was already a marked man. However, he felt the compulsion of the Lord's will upon him and started out. He asked the police for a travel permit to Japan, but was refused. One night he seemed to actually hear a voice saying "Go to Japan", so, permit or no, he started out with his son and Miss Ahn, a

public school teacher, who also felt the necessity of making this testimony. Strangely enough, they had no difficulty on the train or even on the ferry-boat across to Japan. People just thought he was an old Japanese man returning to his home country with his son and daughter.

In Japan, they first visited certain prominent Christian leaders and narrated the plight of the Christians in Korea. They also had the names of certain prominent Japanese statesmen who were known not to be sympathetic with the military clique. They were believed to hold that the military clique were making a serious political mistake in estranging the Korean people through their insistence on Shrine worship. Through one of these statesmen, they were able to secure visitor's passes to the Diet building, something not easy to come by in those days of rising war tensions and suspicions in the Japanese Empire.

They made one visit to the Diet building just to get a lay of the land, then on March 21, 1939, they entered the building with leaflets hidden in their clothing. Again, providentially, the leaflets were not discovered when their persons were searched as they entered the building. What they were contemplating was looked on as an act of suicidal recklessness for colonial Koreans. In this same period ruling Japanese military fanatics had resorted even to the assassination of popular Premier Saito to remove any obstacle to their program of world conquest.

The 400 members were gathered for the 74th meeting of the Japanese Diet. At the time the Diet was especially considering the Religious Law. At first the three took their places in the gallery, Miss Ahn on the women's side. At a given signal, Elder Pak cried, "It is the great purpose of Jehovah God", and with these words they threw the leaflets which they had prepared among the members of the Diet.

Elder Pak's leaflet urged the Japanese government to cease from its rebellion against God in forcing Shrine worship on its people, lest the wrath of God fall upon the country. Pak's leaflet (1) urged that Christianity be made the national religion of Japan, and (2) warned that if Japan continued to persecute Christianity, she would be destroyed.

The scattering of the leaflets, of course, caused quite a commotion. The three were imprisoned for a month, then sent back to Korea. It did result in the Diet appointing a Committee to investigate matters in Korea, but nothing came of it.

After Pak's return to Korea, he was constantly under police surveillance. His son urged him to flee to Manchuria but Pak refused. "No", he said to his son, "I'm working for the Korean church and must stay". He said he wanted to be a martyr "for Jesus, for the Gospel, and for the Korean Church".

Elder Pak was eventually imprisoned in 1941 on the charges of opposing the law for the control of religions, and of lese majesty. He died in the Pyengyang penitentiary on March 13, 1945, at the age of 70.

PASTOR CHOI, BONGSUK

Pastor, Choi, Bongsuk was jokingly referred to by Christians as "Power" Choi. He was an elderly Presbyterian minister of great vigor with a strong

voice. He might be considered eccentric in his methods of preaching, but, underneath his eccentricity, people saw a brave, loving, and even wiseman. He used to go through the streets of Pyengyang shouting "Jesus, Jesus!". They tell the story of how once he shouted to some men working high on a mountain-side telling them to hurry and come down, gesticulating wildly as he did so. When they arrived, frightened and breathless, he told them they must believe in Jesus or be lost. To some he seemed a public nuisance coming down the street, especially at 5 a.m., on his way to day-break prayer meeting, shouting "Jesus, Jesus". Often police would arrest him for his noise-making but he would use the opportunity to so quietly and convincingly press the gospel on them that they'd throw him out to get away from the logic of his preaching.

In the fall of 1940, he was imprisoned for 50 days for his opposition to Shrine worship, and again in December of the same year. In 1941, he was among the many who were incarcerated with "case pending". He was kept in the Pyengyang penitentiary until his death on April 16, 1944, without ever being brought to trial.

MISS AHN, YOUNGAE

Miss Ahn, Youngae was a servant girl from north Korea. As a Christian, working for a Japanese family who brought her with them to Manchuria, she became more and more bothered by the task of having to put a portion of the daily rice before the god-shelf, a task required by her employer. At first she would secretly spit on the rice to show her distain and disapproval of what she was doing, but this did not seem a very worthy or clear testimony, so she finally decided to give up her job. She was a good worker and the Japanese employer was loath to lose her. Claiming she owed him for transportation to Manchuria, and in other ways, he tried to hold on to her, but in vain.

She later found employment with us. When working for us, she shared a rented room, near the Korean church in the Chinese part of the city, with the Bible Woman of the church, Mrs. Kim, Sinbok, a young widow with an excellent testimony and a cheerful disposition.

When many of the leaders were being rounded up by the police, Mrs. Kim was arrested for her opposition to Shrine worship. Some days later, hoping to give it to Mrs. Kim, her room-mate, Miss Ahn took to the jail a change of clothing, a Bible, and toilet paper (the absence of which was not one of the least of the hardships of oriental prison life). The police seized the opportunity to question her about her connection with Mrs. Kim, and about her attitude toward Shrine worship. She had not been a leader, just a humble church member, but when she replied that she believed Shrine worship to be idolatry, she too was imprisoned.

Almost a year later, the Christians in the Harbin Presbyterian Church, of which she was a member, were told that she was being released because she was dying. They found the girl, who had always been meticulous about her person and appearance, completely broken. Her hands and neck were black from months without washing. She had suffered from typhus. Her hair, uncombed for months, was matted, with lice visibly crawling over it. Her face was thin and wasted. Her lips were broken out with sores, her little hands mere skeletons. She could hardly talk. Only her luminous eyes seemed to speak. Painfully she gasped the story of her sufferings, but mostly telling of the

victories the Lord had given her. She'd had her Bible much of the time. I have it now, with the pages creased, as Koreans do, where she folded them back to mark verses that had especially helped her.

She lingered almost a month after her release from prison, too weak to hold and read her Bible, almost too weak to pray, denied strength for the hearty singing which used to mean so much to her. What I especially noticed was that she had times of discouragement or of being offended because of lack of attention or of being forgotten by friends or loved ones. I even heard a Christian once question her faith for these reasons. But when I saw her face relax as I read God's Word to her, or saw a tear roll slowly down her cheek at the singing of a loved hymn, or heard her faint but fervent amens to my prayers, there was no doubt in my mind about her faith. I only realized, as I had never realized before, that the Devil has no mercy, and does not even leave the "brand snatched from the burning" to die in peace. He tempts and torments to the very end. I began to realize then, more deeply, what it means to "endure to the end" and to seek to prepare myself to be faithful "to the end".

In spite of loving and skillful medical and nursing care at the hands of Dr. and Mrs. (also an M.D.) Roy M. Byram, and their staff, Youngae ("Eternal Love") continued to fail. One morning Dr. Byram, on his usual rounds, stopped by Youngae's bed. For some reason, he was led to talk about heaven and its glories. He had not been gone from the ward many minutes when Miss Kim, the nurse's aid, whose brother was at that time in prison and would himself later die a martyr's death, rushed from the ward to say Youngae had died. She said, shortly after Dr. Byram left the ward, that Youngae had gathered all the strength in her wasted body to cry "Abba-jee ap-hu-ro kam-nee-da" ("I'm going into the presence of my Father") and died.

The Christians buried her in the Russian cemetery, and on the stone were engraved in Korean and in Chinese characters, which can be read by educated people of Korea, China or Japan, the verse in Revelation 12:11, "They overcame him because of the blood of the Lamb, and because of the word of their testimony; and they loved not their life even unto death".

EVANGELIST LEE, YONGHEE

Evangelist (lay-preacher) Lee, Yonghee had been a young elder, a solid business man in a very large church in Sin Weejoo, on the northern border of Korea. He left his business and moved with his large family into north Manchuria to do pioneer evangelism. He worked primarily among the Korean farmers flocking into the country to settle areas being developed by Japanese or Korean companies as semi-cooperative farms. He was a cheerful, tireless, efficient worker. In a matter of a few years he had seven little country congregations started.

As the Shrine question became more acute in both Korea and Manchuria (by that time occupied by the Japanese), he found himself driven to take an open stand for or against Shrine worship. He began, positively, to teach and instruct his people against Shrine worship. When children from his churches and Sunday schools refused to worship Shrines at the "farm grammar schools", it created an unpleasant problem of discipline. Conditions in Manchuria were like the early days in the western United States. Bandit raids were frequent. Japanese army mop-up squads were sent hither and yon to deal with them. The

people were often caught between the two horns of trying to buy off their lives by appeasing raiding bandits, on the one hand, and the army's ruthless extermination of whole families, groups or even villages who collaborated with the bandits on the other. Blood flowed easily and life was cheap. It was well to keep on the good side of the Japanese government, which was the rising power in Manchuria at the time, and, more especially, the fanatical military leaders.

The conflict between the non-Christian school principal and the church had been growing when, one winter, a Japanese mopping-up expedition was stationed in the country town where Mr. Lee had a church. Their objective was to clean out the bandits in the area. The soldiers had been there several months without success, and were about to leave. By a clever ruse, the principal helped the soldiers to surprise and annihilate the whole bandit band. At the drinking party celebrating this victory and honoring the principal for his part, the principal unburdened himself to the Japanese officer about his troubles with the Christians. The officer blustered, "Kill those who oppose you or drive them out of here and you'll have our backing". Emboldened by this backing, the principal began to threaten the Christians and especially Evangelist Lee. The Christians were told that if either Evangelist Lee or I, the missionary in charge of the area, should set foot in the village we would be killed. The Christians wrote letters and even sent messengers, urging us not to come. In spite of these threats, Evangelist Lee sent word that he would make his regular round of the churches, and I felt I dare not be less bold, and accompanied him. We went together when we visited this church for the first time after these threats. We faced the possibility of ambushment and that we were seeing the light of day on earth for the last time, but nothing came of the threats, except our flushing a herd of five deer trying to find food under the snow beside our path. Their jumping up frightened us more than it did them, I'm sure.

On another occasion Evangelist Lee went to the railroad station to see and express his sympathy for a Bible Woman who had been arrested and was being taken back to Korea under police guard. For contacting her, he himself was handcuffed there on the spot and taken along to the train. Like Peter, I followed afar off and shared his joy when, as the train started to move, they released him, and I saw him hop off the moving train.

Evangelist Lee's boldness seemed to be honored by the Lord. The authorities seemed almost afraid, for some reason, to touch him. Christians being sought by the police for their stand against Shrine worship in Korea fled to Manchuria and found refuge in remote country areas, and Mr. Lee's churches sheltered many of these refugees. But Evangelist Lee was not content. He felt he must go back to the big churches in Korea and urge them to take a stronger stand against Shrine worship. I wondered if looking after his own parishes was not good enough and suggested that he should "leave well enough alone", but, for Evangelist Lee, the situation in Korea was not "well enough", and he made his trip.

Of course, pulpits were closed to him, so he held cottage meetings in the homes of those dissatisfied with the way things had gone in the church, being welcomed in one cottage group after another. The police got wind of his activities and it was while he was holding one of these meetings that the place was surrounded by police. One officer entered and ordered Evangelist Lee to come out. The Evangelist called for a hymn to cover the interruption of the meeting. The police on the outside, not used to congregational sing-

ing, thought a riot had broken out and, leaving their posts, rushed into the house. Most of those gathered were thus given an opportunity to escape by the different doors and windows, but Evangelist Lee himself and several others were arrested. Evangelist Lee died in prison.

His great text had been "He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved". The words of his text "to the end" and the peculiar emphasis he put on them were lovingly mimicked and became almost a battle cry among the Christians - "Gut Kajee"! ("To the end").

EVANGELIST PAK, EEHUM

Evangelist Pak, Eehum was born in 1910 in North Pyengan Province. After graduating from grammar school he gained himself the equivalent of a high school education by reading and self-development. This was recognized when he later enrolled and graduated from the Bible Institute in Sin Weejoo, on the northern border of Korea.

In 1939, he was one of 30 men who secretly met with Pastor Choo, Kichul, the well-known martyr, after his release from his first imprisonment, and pledged themselves to stir all Korea, and work for the abolishment of Shrine worship "to the end, even if it meant death".

The constant harassment of the police became so unbearable that he fled to Manchuria. I met him at that time. In spite of his limited formal education he had held a government job for some years before entering Bible Institute, and his native wit and ability, together with his life as a public official, had themselves served to give him a degree from the "University of Hard Knocks". When I met him, he was a furtive fugitive, a sharp, clever-speaking bundle of energy.

There were two things especially characteristic of Evangelist Pak at this time. On the one hand, he was usually strong and sharp in the things he said and did about Shrine worship. After one or two admonitions about the sin of Shrine worship, if his hearer did not agree or heed, he would sharply turn from him, sometimes even while eating at the same table, later not even greeting him if they should pass on the street. This was in accordance with his understanding of 2 John 10, Romans 16:17, and I Corinthians 5:11. During the war years this practice was followed by many, loosely tied together through their common stand against Shrine worship. At the end of the war, they emerged as the Chai-gun-Pah, or Reconstruction Group. They would have no fellowship with people in what they called the "present day Church", calling them children of the devil, and their church buildings devil shrines.

The other characteristic of Evangelist Pak was that, in spite of his urging such an uncompromising stand, he also advised people to flee, rather than fall into the hands of the police. He used Evangelist Kim, Yunsup as an example, a man who at that time had been in prison eight times for his opposition to Shrine worship and had finally given in to the Japanese. Pak would declare, "You can't hold out if you once fall into their hands, so just keep out of their hands". This advice was not easy to take for women tied down with families or others equally tied to some geographic location. In line with his own advice, Pak refused to accept salaried leadership of any local church, lest he be tied down. He kept moving about Manchuria, and later in North China, stirring up Christians to a strong stand.

The police finally arrested him in North China in 1940, as one of the more-than-seventy "death pact band" members. He was tortured more than many others, one of the most painful forms being to drive bamboo splints into his fingers under his finger nails. Under torture he'd cry "Hallelujah to the Name of the Lord" and "How am I worthy".

The spoiled corn and beans that were part of prison fare during the war years helped to impair his health. He was one of 14 members of the same group who were eventually brought to trial on February 3, 1942. The remainder of the seventy, mostly laymen, had been previously released on one excuse or another, a few by compromising.

Evangelist Pak was given 12 years in prison at hard labor, next to the severest sentence received by any one of the 14. But long before he had served out his sentence he died in the Mukden, Manchuria penitentiary in 1943, a year after receiving his sentence. In his death he proved that he had been wrong in saying "You can't hold out once you fall into their hands". Rather he found the words of his Savior true - "My Grace is sufficient for you", and "He will give you a way of escape."

EVANGELIST KIM, YOONSUP

Evangelist Kim, Yoonsup was born in the village of In-doo in Syenchun County of North Pyangan Province. He was brought up in a non-Christian home and was known as one of the "bad boys" of the village. But when he was about 20 years old he became a "Christian". After experiencing regeneration, his life was filled with "much grace", according to Elder Chung, Bongsung, one who later shared imprisonment with him, and to whom I am indebted for filling in many of the details of the record of Yoonsup's life.

Kim had two years beyond grammar school in formal secular education. Following his baptism, he entered the North Pyengan Presbytery's Bible Institute and led services in a small country church until his graduation.

After graduation, he gave himself to full-time work for the Lord and pioneered churches in Duk-in and Wul-wha villages, helping to carry the stones himself, for the first little chapel at Duk-in. The grace of the Lord was upon him and the work prospered wherever he went. He was large, over six feet tall, healthy, had a good voice and was in demand as a revival leader in the churches of the area.

It was at about this time that the Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church yielded to government pressure and formally declared that Shrine worship was not idolatry, but merely a patriotic act. Kim was greatly disturbed by this and preached a strong sermon entitled, "Daniel's Purposed Aim", which greatly moved the hearts of the hearers. The police got wind of his preaching, and detectives in his audience reported the nature of his preaching. He was arrested and exposed to various kinds of torture, one was the famed "water cure". The prisoner is stretched out, face up, on a narrow bench, hands tied under the bench, head hanging down over the end of the bench and water is poured from a kettle down his nostrils, practically drowning him. Sometimes red pepper is added to the water as a special refinement of the torture. At another time, he was branded with a hot iron. On one occasion, he told me, several police seized him and, using the back of a chair as a fulcrum, tried

to bend his rigid body in a bow toward the shrine in the corner of the police station, thinking if they could make him bow, even against his will, that he would feel compromised and weaken. As has been mentioned, Kim was tall and strong. He resisted vigorously, lying on the floor and kicking like a baby. He was kicked in the head and body and his clothes torn, but he still refused to bow, and they seemed unable to make him.

At other times the police resorted to kindly talk, and sought to reason him into bowing. "Christianity was a western religion" and westerners were not as strict about keeping God's commandments as they expected orientals to be, or even as demanding as Kim was of himself, they argued. Also many Christians, including some missionaries and ministers, saw nothing wrong in Shinto worship. Even the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the leaders of the Seventh Day Adventist Church and the Vatican itself had approved of it. Did he think he was the only good Christian in the world?

But whether it was torture or argument or blandishments, Kim met each testing with prayer for strength and wisdom and with God's Word. Perhaps the most difficult form of temptation was freedom itself. When the authorities were not able to break him in other ways, they gave him up as a hopeless case and would release him, but at the same time warning him that he'd be arrested again if he continued to teach as before. As with the Apostles in Acts 4:17, it was a case of "let us threaten them" and let them go. How precious freedom is after imprisonment! But, for Kim, it could be had only at the price of keeping his mouth shut. Only one who has been through it (and the writer speaks from experience) can know the strength of such a temptation to silence. But Kim did not yield to the temptation. On his release, he continued preaching as before. He was arrested again. The torturing was more severe. This arrest-and-release was repeated until he had been imprisoned eight times.

It was while in prison for his eighth time that Kim broke. This was all before I ever met him. I have read and even heard, from such men as the above-mentioned martyr Evangelist Pak, several accounts of Kim's compromise, in which they say it came under pressure of torture, water-cure, branding or otherwise. Such reports are liable to discourage Christians and make them feel "if a man like Kim finally broke, do I dare think I could hold out?" Even before I met Kim, I used to doubt the validity of the "lesson" people drew from Kim's compromise, namely, "you'd better not fall into the hands of the police. Flee! You won't be able to hold out any more than Kim did". God's Word says, "There hath no temptation taken you but such as man can bear". I was glad, therefore, when I eventually met Kim and heard from his own lips the true story of his compromise.

He said he had been brought to prison for his eighth time. Prison, torture, even death, were not so hard to endure or face. It was the periods of release, when, against what seemed to be common wisdom, he must carry on the struggle. It was the times when he would be torn from his wife and children that were hard. His wife bravely encouraged him, but the little four year old boy would cry inconsolably when his father would be led away again by the police. And so, like Elijah under the juniper tree, he wanted to die.

It was just while he was attempting suicide that the prison guard called him from his cell for another period of examination. On all previous occasions, such summons turned him to the Lord for strength and wisdom, and the Lord sustained him. He told me that sometimes, under the severest torture, he ac-

tually rejoiced in the Lord. But today it was different. The sin of attempted suicide had broken fellowship with the Lord and such fellowship is not easily or quickly restored, as a rule. He followed the guard, numbly and unpraying. As a matter of form he was again ordered to bow to the Shrine, and to the surprise of the police, he meekly obeyed. They were delighted at his change of mind and asked him to put his seal to a statement that it was not idolatrous to bow to a Shrine. Again, he numbly submitted. He was now released and told he was free to preach and hold meetings. But like Peter, Kim went out and wept bitterly.

He resigned his work as an evangelist and moved to Manchuria. Kim was not only strong of body but good with mechanics. Before becoming a Christian, he had handled different kinds of machines in his farm village. His family had to live, so he started a rope-making factory, which provided a good living for himself and other Christian fugitives from Korea. But he was not happy. He had a calling from the Lord, and the voices in the church, speaking out against the idolatry of shrine worship were so few! But what could he do? He had compromised. Furthermore he had sinned willfully. Was there any forgiveness for him? And under the circumstances, how could he lead others?

He had heard of our work in north Manchuria, and, in his distress, he came to me. It was my privilege to point out that "there is no more sacrifice for sin" - fastings, prayers, no nothing, nothing can be added to what Christ has done. "He who knew no sin became sin for us", He did it "once for all" and "if we confess our sins He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrightness". It was not a new story to Kim, but it helped to turn his eyes on Jesus alone, and in turning he found forgiveness and victory.

He wrote to the police, retracting his signed statement, and subsequently found much liberty in expounding God's Word and in exhorting Christians to stand. He went from place to place strengthening the Christians. He was much in demand. Often, after the close of the regular evening meeting, Christians would gather about him, asking him to give them proof-texts to meet particular phases of the whole shrine problem. Such informal meetings would go long beyond midnight, and no one seemed to get tired; their lives were at stake.

About a month after his writing his retraction, police came from Korea to arrest him. He was at our home at the time, and when a messenger from his home came, saying they were looking for him, we had prayer together and then we went fearlessly and cheerfully to meet them. And so he was imprisoned for his ninth time.

That was in March or April of 1940. During this imprisonment he suffered from dysentery and malnutrition. In December of 1940, shortly after Miss Ahn, Youngae had been released only to die, Kim's wife received word to come and get her husband, as he too was dying and they were releasing him. When she arrived at the prison, she found her husband lying on the frozen ground. His underwear had long since been torn up for bandages with which to bind up the wounds of other prisoners and his big Korean jacket had slipped up leaving his bare back against the hard frozen ground. He was too weak to even adjust his clothes to protect himself. She got him home in a Russian taxi.

I did not learn of his release until the next morning. When I arrived at the home, I found him being tenderly cared for, lying on the warm, heated Korean floor. He tried to lift his head, but fell back. He tried to speak,

but I could not hear him across the little room. I bent close to him and he uttered the two words: "Immanuel", "Hallelujah", "Immanuel, God with us", and "Hallelujah, Praise the Lord". Though seemingly beaten, his greatest awareness was that God was with him and in his suffering he was praising the Lord!

But that was not the end. He began to improve. On Christmas, the members of the church went together to buy him a warm, fur-lined overcoat. We were having our services in different homes, and, though proscribed by the government, Kim's home was one of the regular meeting places. As Kim got better he led the services in his home, though still having to lean on a big stick to move himself around. I especially recall the communion service which I led there. Christians from our various meeting places had gathered for it. Kim brought the message. Thumbing quickly and familiarly through his big Bible, he brought us a two-hour message on "Fear not". "It's wrong to fear", he declared. He took us through the Scriptures to show why it's wrong to fear, opening up the many promises the Lord gives us for times of danger.

"How do you have the courage to keep going in the face of constant arrests?" Kim was asked at about this time.

"When I became a Christian, I died with Christ", was his humble answer, "and once you're dead, what men do to you can't hurt you".

Even on the day of the communion, every knock at the door made us wonder if it was not another call from the police. It was not many weeks after this, early in 1941, that Kim, still leaning on the cane, was arrested for his tenth and last time.

It was a time when the authorities arrested around 70 Christians, called by the press, "the death pact band", (Kyul Sa Dan). They were brought from all parts of Manchuria.

After the Presbyterian General Assembly had compromised on the Shrine issue in 1938, some Christians withdrew from the compromised church and began meeting separately for worship, some of them fleeing to Manchuria. The problem arose as to who should be invited to lead such meetings. Could Christians who had not formally broken from the compromised church, but who might attend such meetings, be asked to lead? Several of those, men and women, who were later imprisoned, including Kim, Yoonsup, Bible Woman Kim, Sinbok, and Bible Woman Pak, Myungsoon met in our home for a couple of days, after a full day of fasting and prayer, to discuss this matter.

Following the example of the Scotch Covenanters, a statement was drawn up, pointing out the Biblical teaching on Shrine worship and the necessity of breaking completely from those who condoned idolatry. From then on, no one was baptized who did not give consent to this document and no one was allowed to lead services who had not subscribed. There were about 25 small Korean Christian groups in north Manchuria which subscribed to this covenant, with just a little short of 500 covenanted baptized members and an average attendance for all the groups of about 800 people on each Lord's Day.

This covenant, drawn up in Harbin, north Manchuria, was later used by other groups throughout Manchuria and Korea, and I found it in use in Pusan, at the southern tip of Korea in 1946, when I returned to Korea at the end of World War II.

These covenanters were evidently the ones being referred to by what the Japanese called the "Blood Pact Band". The press made it appear that a great conspiracy against the government had been uncovered, though we'd been open in our urging subscription to it. While trying to make it appear that the members of the "Band" were disloyal to the government, and enemy agents, the press also spoke of them as people who had no sense of the world about them, as people who were "looking only for the coming of Jesus on the clouds".

It was the writer's privilege to be in prison in the same penitentiary in Antung, Manchuria, with Kim for a short time between November 22 and December 5, 1941. He saw Kim several times and talked with him briefly, though somewhat indirectly, once. We were both trying to witness to the Korean guard who was watching us. I'd told the guard of Evangelist Kim's many imprisonments for Christ, and that we were both "in" for the same reasons.

"Aren't you afraid you'll die in prison?" the guard asked. Prison conditions were not meant to do more than barely sustain life, and the death of prisoners was not uncommon.

I told him that eternal life meant so much to us that, while death was not pleasant to contemplate, it was not such a fearful thing in comparison to the loss of eternal life.

Kim spoke up saying, "Pastor, I practically died again this time. It was from a case of typhoid fever. I was even unconscious for a time". Then he added, "But, Pastor, when you know Jesus, it's cheap to die". (Chooknan gussi hul hayo).

Kim's sanity and lack of fanaticism impressed me on one occasion during our imprisonment in Antung together. One of our fellow Christians, Choi, Hanki, had lost his mind under the torture. Strangely enough, the guards had called Mrs. Roy Byram and myself from our cells to pray with him - possibly like Herod, hoping to see some miracle. Choi had been an attractive young evangelist, with a wife and two lovely children. I was shocked when I saw him, sitting slumped in a chair, his clothes disarranged, his wrists tied with leather thongs to a great leather belt around his waist so he could not hurt himself, broken in mind. His eyes were like some wild animal's. Mrs. Byram and I had prayer for him there in the prison dispensary and then were taken back to our respective cells. What I had seen kept haunting me. I couldn't get Choi and his family out of my mind. As I prayed for him the verse kept recurring to me, "This kind can come out by nothing, save by prayer and fasting". In spite of the fact that prison fare always left me hungry, I determined to set aside a day for fasting and prayer. Through one of our inter-cell contacts, I suggested that Kim, who had done much prayer and fasting before imprisonment, should join me. He sent word back that his body was greatly weakened (it was his tenth imprisonment) and he would join me in prayer for Choi, but that he felt he must conserve his strength for whatever lay ahead, so he would not fast. Strangely enough, this rejoiced me more than if he had agreed to fast. Choi, it should be added, was released within a week and later recovered sanity and was being greatly used of the Lord in North Korea when last heard of before the Communists completely clamped down on the church.

Kim with 13 others was finally brought to trial in January 1942. The charges against them were the same as those made against the prisoners in Korea:

- (a) Violating the public peace
- (b) Lese majesty
- (c) Irreverence
- (d) Giving aid to the enemy

Kim was recognized by the authorities as the leader. The judge's questions were mostly addressed to him. His fellow prisoners, including Pak, Eehum, who was himself very outstanding, recognized the firm but gentle Kim as their spokesman.

On the first day of the trial, the judge said to Kim, "According to your beliefs, if a man serves any god except your Jehovah God he will be cast into hell; do you then believe that His Majesty the Emperor who serves the gods of his ancestors will go to hell?"

"Yes, he will" (Hai, soo desu.), Kim replied.

"Do you really mean it?" the judge asked, ("his eyes wide as saucers and his face red with anger" according to Elder Chung, Bongsung, one of the 14 being tried).

"Do you mean it?" (Hontoka), the enraged judge repeated for the third time.

Without hesitation, but with a prayer in his heart, Kim answered, "Yes, he will." With all his boldness, he seemed calm and relaxed.

The trial was not over in one or two days. It ran on for ten days. Gradually the atmosphere in the court room changed. The grace of the Lord seemed to be on His servants as, with the help of the Holy Spirit, they made their strong testimony. As the trial proceeded, the judges themselves became more "strained", as though they were the ones who were on trial and the Lord provided a "gracious atmosphere" making the court become more like a church, with Kim preaching the Words of God, Elder Chung says. He also says the prisoners were made to remember the words of the Lord in Matthew 10:18-20, "It shall be given you in that hour what ye shall speak, for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you."

On next to the last day, two of the 14 gave in, and agreed to shrine worship, Kim, Choongdo a public school teacher who was being given eight years, and Evangelist Kim, Kyungduk who was being given 12 years. The others felt, on the one hand, the grim agony "of this break in their ranks and at the same time were moved to tears of thankfulness for the grace of God, without which they knew they themselves could not stand."

Following the preliminary summing up of the case, on next to the last day, all 14 were moved from the big common cells where they had been held, to the block of smaller cells, usually reserved for "foreign prisoners", the very ones where Dr. Byram of the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions and I had been held for a month and a half, just a few months prior to this. Kim, Kyungduk, after yielding, sobbed pitifully all night, and declared that on his release he would withdraw his consent to shrine worship, but does not seem to have had the courage to do so.

On the last day of the trial, when the prisoners were brought from their respective cells and were waiting together in the basement of the court house to be led into the court room, Evangelist Kim said to his fellow prisoners,

"Brothers, since we have reached the end of the road, the opportunity to further admonish or reprove others is past. Every one is free. As we are at the fork in the road of life and death, those who would die for Jesus will die together, and those who would live will do as they wish. But there is one thing to remember, the mouths of the lions, which wanted to swallow Daniel, were only open mouths, they could not actually eat Daniel, could they?" These words were a great strength to his friends. Thus Evangelist Kim helped the others and was like a general commanding troops on the front line. When Evangelist Pak, Eehum spoke of him admiringly as "general", Kim, with his characteristic faith and humility said that he could not be general, "Jesus is our General".

During the noon recess of the preceding day, after two of the men had capitulated, the prisoners were all sent back to the cells in the court house basement and given their usual cake of steamed corn-meal. The cells are built around the walls, facing inward, with an open space in the middle, so the guard, sitting in this space can keep an eye on all the prisoners. The occasion was fraught with emotion. It was drawing to the close of a long struggle. Though each ate his or her corn-cake in his separate cell, they did so in a kind of circle about the open space. With charges having been pronounced against them, the prisoners felt bound together as never before, and their noon meal became a kind of "sacrament" of the Lord's body. Kim, the spokesman, referring to it, said, "The Lord has, as it were, prepared for us His Holy meal, how good is this time!" What added poignancy and heightened the meaning of the "communion" was that just as they bowed their heads in prayer and were about to eat, the two men who had recanted were called out by the guards, for some reason, and had to leave their meal untouched. This strange differentiation between the two and the twelve occurred again on the following and last day. The sentences had been pronounced. The court had kindly allowed friends and relatives to buy dishes of "domburi", (a rice, meat and egg, one-dish-meal, common in Japan) for each of the prisoners, before they started serving their long sentences. Again, just as they were about to eat, the two who had recanted were called from the room and had to leave the food they so craved, untouched. Kim said, "This is the supper the Lord has provided and He has not allowed those to join us who have refused to take this stand of separation from idols with us."

The following are the names of the 12 who were finally sentenced on February 3, 1942, and the terms to which they were sentenced:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Office in Church</u>	<u>Length of Sentence</u>
Kim, Yoonsup	Evangelist	15 years
Pak, Eehum	"	12 "
Chung, Pongsung	" & Elder	10 "
Kim, Yangsoon	"	10 "
Sin, Okyuh	Bible Woman	10 "
Kim, Sinbok	" "	10 "
Pak, Myungsoon	" "	8 "
Han, Soochan	Deacon	8 "
Chun, Choonduk	"	8 "
Kim, Ungpil	"	8 "
Kim, Taikyung	Nurse (Deaconess)	8 "
Chun, Choisun	Yungsoo (Church leader)	6 "

As the tide of World War II turned against the Japanese, even free civilians were so restricted and rationing so strict that the whole country became like a vast concentration camp, and the life of criminals in the penitentiaries proportionately difficult. The 12 prisoners were moved from the Antung penitentiary to Mukden.

Kim was skillful with machinery and could have received preferential treatment as a "technician" but because it meant Sabbath work he chose rather to be an ordinary laborer and worked in the print shop. The guards respected him and he had a great influence among the prisoners. Two robbers from Youngchun in North Pyenyang Province, who had received seven year sentences, were led to the Lord by Kim. They prayed and studied their Bibles with him and upon their release proved the sincerity of their Christian profession. Some details of Kim's last days were learned through them.

At one time, a Japanese prisoner appeared to be converted through Kim's preaching, but he in turn tried to weaken Kim in his stand. This proved to be a severe testing of Kim's faith. He wondered later whether the Japanese prisoner had not been purposely planted; for when Kim refused to change his stand, the Japanese turned against him, speaking ill of him.

As long as he lived, Kim encouraged his fellow sufferers and constantly challenged them to more saintly living by his own words and life. The prison fare was "not one fifth" what a man of his size and energy would want, "if he ate it all", but he used to divide his food "not only with his friends but others". "He did not stop praying, singing, or witnessing: in prison, and became known as a 'man of God'".

In his struggle for truth he was bold as a lion, but in his dealing with those about him he was humble and merciful so that even from the lips of one of the Japanese guards was wrung the tribute to his saintliness "Anatawa Kamisama desu" (You are a god).

Hard labor and lack of nourishment on top of the tortures and sickness during the more than two years of imprisonment before his trial began to tell. His lungs became affected and at last, too weak to work in the print shop, he was sent to the prison infirmary.

He was now cut off from any contact with his fellow-Christians. The loss of his buoyant leadership was described as having a "suffocating" effect on them. Only occasional word of him leaked through the infirmary walls, by way of other patients hospitalized for shorter periods. Thus his last days were spent wholly among non-Christians and it was through the lips of non-Christians who were near him and saw him at the time, that we know of his death. In bed he continued to witness to all - prisoners, jailers, or clerks. Those who were there always spoke of him with pity and admiration and were sure he had gone to the heaven of which Christians speak.

For three or four days before his death he kept singing hymns, with a beaming face, like an angel, and repeating "It's time for some one from my home to come". His singing could be heard by the close to a thousand prisoners awaiting trial in the floors above and below the infirmary. Listening in the tomb-like silence of the prison, they would, in spite of regulations, occasionally break into applause.

On the last morning, May 3, 1943, when he received his morning meal, he divided it carefully into four parts as usual, ate two parts himself, gave the other equally divided parts to two other patients, then fell back in final and peaceful sleep. He had served only fifteen months of his 15-year sentence, a month for a year.

The song sung so much during those last days seems to have been the Korean translation of the "Glory Song"

When all my labors and trials are o'er
And I am safe on that beautiful shore,
Just to be near the dear Lord I adore
Will through the ages be glory for me.
O, that will be glory for me! Glory for me!
Glory for me!
When, by His grace, I shall look on His face,
That will be glory, be glory for me!"

This last act of sharing, followed by the peaceful passing in sleep, graphically sealed to the non-Christians among whom he died, the testimony concerning his hope of heaven and joy in seeing the Saviour, concerning whom he had been singing so much during his final days.

BOOK NOTES

Compiled by the Editor

CHRISTIANITY IN DIALOGUE WITH NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS

Allen, E. L., CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE RELIGIONS. Boston: Beacon Press, 1961, 159 pp., \$1.45, paperback.

Beginning in the 13th Century, the author's brief book chronicles the up and down history of the conviction that Christianity possesses the absolute truth. Moving from theology to philosophy with ease, Dr. Allen concludes that "the Christian can enter into conversation with men and women of another faith because his aim in this is not to win them for his religion, but to serve that kingdom of Christ whose triumphs are only those of truth and love. He is willing to receive into the fellowship of the church all who would confess Christ by name;...But he does not demand that all become Christians." (p. 155) The value of the work lies only in its lucid summaries of a long conflict.

Appleton, George, ON THE EIGHTFOLD PATH. London: SCM Press, 1961, 156 pp., 8/6, paperback.

The author, a former missionary in Burma for 20 years, has been labelled "a notable bridge-builder between the Buddhist and the Christian" because of this title. In a concise and clear way, he draws a most sympathetic picture of the doctrines of Theravada Buddhism, trying to sit where they sit, to be 'present' with them (the sub-title of the work is "Christian Presence Amid Buddhism"). His portrait of Buddhism has been criticized as too simon-pure. His portrait of Christianity suffers from the reverse process.

Bavinck, J. H., THE CHURCH BETWEEN TEMPLE AND MOSQUE. Grand Rapids; Eerdmans Publ. Co., 1966, 206 pp., \$2.65, paperback.

Another richly rewarding study by the recently deceased professor of Missions at the Free University of Amsterdam. After a careful analysis of what he feels to be the five "magnetic points" of religious consciousness, Bavinck looks on that consciousness "in the light of God". The privilege of seeing a Calvinist who practices Biblical Christianity apply his learning to the problem of Christianity's relation to other religions is still a rare one. Bavinck's title extends to us that privilege.

Devanandan, P. D., PREPARATION FOR DIALOGUE. Bangalore: Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, 1964, Rs. 7.50.

A collection of essays, published posthumously, centered around the three-fold headings, "Contemporary Hinduisim", "Hindu Reaction to Christian Evangelism and Christian Apologetics", and "The Task of Christian Witness". Dr. Devanandan asks, "Will religions as religions, and nations as nations, continue characteristically separate in the fulness of time, when God would 'gather together

in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth; even in him'?" His answer is not as clear as his question.

Desilva, Lynne A., CREATION, REDEMPTION, CONSUMMATION IN BUDDHIST AND CHRISTIAN THOUGHT. Chiangmai: Thailand Theological Seminary, 1964, \$1.00.

Less comparison than assimilation, this work of the Secretary of the National Christian Council's Study Centre in Ceylon provides, in three provocative lectures, a case-study in the indigenization of Tillich and Niebuhr. According to one reviewer, "the writer endeavours to show how the Christian doctrine of Creation both fulfills and corrects the Hindu-Buddhist concept of the absolute identity of all things in a universal soul". The effort may be Herculean but the results are very Prufrockean.

Kulandran, Sabapathy, GRACE IN CHRISTIANITY AND HINDUISM. London: Lutterworth Press, 1964, 42/-.

Nida, Eugene A., RELIGION ACROSS CULTURES. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1968, 111 pp., \$4.95.

The Executive Secretary for Translations of the American Bible Society takes us from Animism to 20th Century Christianity, from medieval man to Rudolf Bultmann. Unlike previous works undertaken by this author, this title has eliminated the extensive illustrative data of anthropology and has pared down "to the basic essentials". It seemed much easier to this reviewer to grasp the central thrust of the book than has been true of Nida's earlier works. The book, surrounded by the perspective of Bavinck's theory of 'Elenctics', can be most fruitful for a deeper understanding of the art of communicating Christianity to the world.

Niles, Daniel T., THE MESSAGE AND ITS MESSENGERS. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966.

Niles draws another Barthian circle. Jesus Christ is its center of reality and Hinduism is "simply a circle within the larger circle, even though its own center is not the real center" (p. 52). Evangelism for Niles can no longer be conceived as "an attempt to bring a man from his circle to the Christian circle. This is what has been called the 'Noah's Ark' method of evangelism--to bring the animals one by one. Surely, this is not the truth." Surely, it is.

Smith, Wilfred C., QUESTIONS OF RELIGIOUS TRUTH. London: Victor Gollancz, 1967, 127 pp., 21/-.

Dr. Smith would make a good "Amen Charlie" for Dr. Niles.

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"Korean Martyrs: Part III"

by

The Rev. Bruce F. Hunt

Korea Mission
of the
Orthodox Presbyterian Church

THE STRUGGLE WITH COMMUNISM

Except for the burning of a whole church full of Christians in Suwon, and other violence connected with the putting down of the political Independence Movement in 1919, in which a disproportionate number of Christians participated and suffered, the Japanese did not engage willfully in the execution of Christians. While Dr. Allen Clark states that over 50 died under Japanese persecution over the Shrine issue,¹ I know of none of these who were executed outright. They were imprisoned and tortured, but death came as a result of torture, malnutrition, exposure, disease and illness in prison, not execution. The martyrdoms under communism, however, were quite different.

When I asked Rev. Kim, Sangdo, who spent four years in prison under the Japanese and was once arrested and beaten by members of "the Peoples' Army" (communists), if there was any difference between Japanese and communist persecution, he put into words what I had come to conclude from the cases I had studied or heard about. The Japanese deal with you strictly on the basis of their laws, while the communists' persecution is "Moojee"--unprincipled, stupid, and brutal.

On the surface, the communists too hold a semblance of keeping the law. One evangelist, now a minister, who lived under them for four years, says opposition to Christianity was not direct. In fact, church attendance and church membership, according to another minister from North Korea, actually increased during the first three years of communist occupation. The church also seemed to grow in spirituality. Between 1948 and 1950, as the pressure increased, members decreased but the spiritual life of the Christians seemed to deepen. "If a man stood up for his rights," the above-mentioned evangelist said, "he was often let alone, openly". The words to be underscored in these remarks, however, are the words, "direct" and "openly". The same man showed that the indirect and hidden opposition to Christianity was constant and eventually devastating. Ministers might be arrested on some pretext other than religious, and then be released in what would appear to be an act of fair-minded benevolence. Hardly would their release take place but they would be set on and brutally killed by a frenzied mob. In a society so completely controlled, such killings could not be interpreted as being carried out under anything but the direct orders of the same "fair-minded, benevolent authority". Or again, while the church was theoretically allowed to exist (for the communist constitution allows "freedom of religion"), ministers were often called from their homes for the most innocent reasons, as though "just for a minute", never to be seen or heard from again. Except when he was being cut down brutally, without mercy, by an unprincipled, raw, physical force, he was not often allowed to knowingly meet his real opponent. And even here, brute force was often not the real opponent. In such disappearances, friends did not know the charges against the people. They were not given opportunity to speak in defense of those taken away, and the fate of such who were taken away, while uncertain, had all the marks of finality.

When the United Nations forces freed Korea from Japan in 1945, the Koreans rather naturally expected they would have a hand in forming their own government. During 35 years of Japanese occupation, political parties had not

¹A.D. Clark, HISTORY OF THE KOREAN CHURCH, Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1961, p. 193 ff.

been able to function openly, if at all. Now, everyone seemed to come forward with his own political party. While the Christians were not a political party, as such, in this time of transition, they were perhaps as united ideologically as any group in society, by their common faith. The leadership and popularity of the many Christians made them also natural candidates for political leadership. Then, too, many Christian citizens, who had not felt like participating even in the lower brackets of government open to them under the Japanese, because such positions under a pagan government involved compromise, now hopefully stepped forward. They were anxious to see their country built on patterns of government which they had admired from a distance in Christian nations. At first, they seemed naively unaware of the incompatibility of their kind of national aspirations with the aspirations of the communist powers which had been given "temporary" authority over their country to accept Japan's surrender north of the 38th parallel in Korea and Manchuria.

For a time, the occupying communist forces helped to keep alive the Korean illusion that a government, freely chosen by people with Christian motives and ideals, could still be enjoyed within a communist political framework. The Presbyterian elder, Cho, Mansik, known by Koreans as a true patriot and lover of his country, the people's choice, was allowed to head the government under the Russian occupying forces. Non-Christians flocked to the church and the church was revived beyond the Christians' expectations.

The church was stronger in North Korea than in any other part of the country, and Christians had held many of the places of responsibility in society, education, health, business and manufacturing. Christians were naturally active, therefore, in trying to mould the destinies of their "liberated" country. One witness said that government responsibility was mostly given to ministers, elders, and deacons, at least in Whanghai Province. This may be somewhat of an exaggeration, but points at least to a time of comparative freedom for the church.

When international communism, taking advantage of the military authority that had been given to the Russian army in North Korea, began to extend its purposes of world domination into Korea, the Korean Christians woke up to find themselves aligned against an implacable foe. Communism had started out as what they thought was a rightful and normal expression of their political aspirations as Christian citizens. But, on the contrary, to the communist, Christianity was interpreted as a political crime, an act of vilest rebellion against the state, "the people", and therefore deserving of the severest punishment, even death.

REV. SOHN, YANGOON AND HIS TWO SONS

Perhaps the best known and most publicized cases of martyrdom under the communists were the deaths of Rev. Sohn, Yangoon and his boys, Tongin and Tongsin. Part of this is because, though he did not die under the Japanese, his testimony against Shinto worship was one of the more outstanding ones. I did not include his story then because he did not die until the time of the communists, but it is necessary to tell of his witness against Shinto worship to give the complete picture of the martyrdom of Sohn and his sons.

Born in Koosung Village, Haman County in South Kyungsang Province on July 7, 1902, he graduated from Middle School in Tokyo in 1923, then entered the South

Kyungsang Bible Institute. He was married in 1924 and became an Evangelist employed by the Pusan leper colony in 1925. He also pioneered churches in Pangujin, Soosan, Namchang, and Wondong. Going on to the Pyengyang Theological Seminary (Presbyterian) in Pyengyang, he graduated in 1938. It was while a seminary student that he first got into difficulties with the Japanese authorities in South Kyungsang Presbytery over the shrine issue. Upon graduation, he accepted a call to the church in the "Aeyang Won", a large leper colony established by the Southern Presbyterian Mission in Yusoo, South Chulla Province.

This church had more than a thousand members. It was thought that the authorities would not take much interest in a man ministering to these leper outcasts of society.

He was called to the police station, however, when out of respect to his scruples, the Japanese flag was removed from behind the pulpit at some special meetings which he was conducting in a church outside the colony. The Japanese had been requiring that Christians bow to the Japanese flag before each worship service. At the police station, Sohn argued that flags flying from a house or a ship were like name plates for identification and reasoned that bowing to the flag was like bowing to one's name plate. Also he said, if bowing to the flag made patriots, then any vicious criminal, polygamist or drunkard could become a patriot by bowing. The police decided to release him at the time, only to arrest him later in 1940. Following the arrest his family was evicted from the manse, by the police, but members of his leper congregation secretly took up a collection to help them.

Sohn was held in the Yusoo prison for ten months. For a long time, the only way the family could discover that he was alive was when they took fresh laundry to the jail and continued to receive his soiled clothes in return. Eventually, by paying money, the family was allowed to arrange for him to have certain special foods from the prison kitchen but this very concession seems to have given rise to a distressing rumor that Sohn had compromised.

Through the kitchen grape-vine, Sohn's wife heard that he was being moved to the penitentiary in Kwangju, the provincial capital for trial. His guards conveniently turned their backs so that she could get in a few words with him, as he was being held on the station platform, awaiting the train. She reminded him of the words of martyr Choo's wife to her husband, "If you bow before the shrine, you are not my husband", then added, "moreover your soul will be lost". Sohn assured her that he had not compromised, but urged her to pray for him.

Mrs. Sohn moved from the leper colony to Kwangju with the younger children. The older boy, Tongin, got a job in Pusan, working in a factory, making wooden barrels, but when they were leaving the leper colony he told the lepers that he would train for the ministry and come back to serve them in his father's place. When he was later drafted for the Japanese army to fight America, Mrs. Sohn scattered the family. She put the second boy, Tongsin, in the Zion orphanage in Pusan, and the two youngest, Tonghui and Tongja in the Ai Rin Won (orphanage) in Kupo near Pusan, then took the oldest boy and fled to the island of Namhae, where they remained in hiding until the end of the war. As the persecution intensified, Tongsin, the second boy, left the Zion orphanage to avoid shrine worship. Not knowing where his mother and brother were hiding, he went to live with six lepers who had abandoned the Yusoo leper colony to get away from compromising shrine worship. They had organized themselves into a little

community in a remote area of Hadong Township in Chinju County. He risked contracting the disease to avoid participation in shrine worship, and remained with them to the end of the war.

In the meantime, Sohn was examined by the Prosecutor of the Kwangju court for eight days. At the end of this time, the Prosecutor followed the usual practice of asking him to put his seal to the record of the examination. Sohn had relied on God's Word in making his answers and refused to sign the record saying, "They are God's Words and not mine, and I have no right to put my seal to God's Words as though they were mine".

He was tried on November 1941, and convicted on the usual counts:

Violating the public peace
Lese Majesty
Irreverance
Giving aid to the enemy

and given a year and a half sentence. While the military clique was determined on wiping out any opposition, the civil authorities acted more cautiously. They did not want to antagonize the people and tried to avoid head-on collisions over the shrine issue. When the year and a half was up, the Public Prosecutor, Yoda, called Sohn before him. He asked the prison guard about Sohn's record on cooperating with the prison authorities. The guard replied that Sohn had been a model prisoner and that he had faithfully participated in Shrine ceremonies. It is not known for sure whether this lie was previously planted in the guard's mouth by Yodo as a face-saving device whereby the Prosecutor would be enabled to dismiss and be freed of a difficult case or not. Whatever went before between the guard and the Prosecutor, Sohn denied that he had participated in Shrine worship. This turn of events infuriated the Prosecutor and he condemned Sohn to the permanent prison for incorrigibles, those who "held dangerous thoughts", located in Chungju, Choongchung Province, in August, 1943. He remained there until Japan's surrender on August 15, 1945, brought liberation.

After liberation, Rev. Sohn returned to his old charge as the pastor of the Ae Yang Won leper church in Yusoo. The unusual testimony he had made before the Japanese caused him to be much in demand as a revival preacher throughout the country during this post-war period of reconstruction. The scattered family was brought together and the children enrolled in various schools, trying to make up for the education they had lost when expelled from grammar school for refusing to bow to the Shinto shrines.

Tongin enrolled in the Soonchun Normal School and Tongsin in the Soonchun Middle school. They were making good progress in their studies and also were making an active Christian testimony among their fellow students. Like so many Korean students they even dreamed of later going to America for advanced studies. But tragedy hit again.

On the night of September 19, 1948, communists in the Yusoo Constabulary Training Camp, finding themselves part of a 500 troop constituency ordered to sail for Cheju Island to fight communist guerrillas, jumped the gun on a planned nation-wide communist uprising against the government of the Republic of Korea. They shot their Korean officers and took control of the local constabulary, then of the city of Yusoo, following which they occupied the city

of Soonchun. A reign of terror followed in which "enemies of the people" (as communists saw them) were tried before "people's courts". The thing was well organized. Arm and headbands, banners, leaflets, and posters shouting communist slogans seemed to spring up with the morning dew on September 20. The premature uprising in one locality saved the rest of the country, but in that locality terror reigned. The Reds spread the lie that Seoul, Taegu, Pusan, and other key cities had fallen to the communists, and that soon all South Korea would be freed from capitalist tyranny.

Whether it was because they'd had enough of being fugitives under the Japanese or whether the communist propaganda had convinced them of the futility of escape, Tongsin and Tongin decided not to flee but to prepare for death, to flee into the bosom of their Heavenly Father. Early on the morning of the 21st, they arose and had prayer together, then they bathed and put on their best clothes. Student friends, knowing the prominent place they'd held as Christians in the eyes of their classmates, came to their boarding house urging them to run, but they remained in their room.

At about 10 o'clock, a mob of communist students came and dragged them from their boarding house. They took them to an area behind the government buildings where bodies of other victims of the "people's court" lay scattered. They reviled and threatened the boys, especially beating Tongin, the older. Tongsin tried to put himself between them and his brother and the students turned on him.

When rumors of the boys' martyrdom reached the parents, Hong, a leper, volunteered to go into the distressed city to check the reports. Hong learned from their landlord that the communist students, after dragging the boys away, had ransacked the boys' room and carried away their papers to the Red headquarters. The landlord also heard that the boys had been shot. The leper made a search and finally found their bodies. From a Christian, whose husband had also been shot, he learned that the boys had urged their captors to believe in Jesus and had patiently witnessed to the end. When Tongin would not deny his faith in Jesus, Ahn Chae Sun, the leader of the communist students prepared to shoot him with a revolver. Tongsin again tried to put himself between Ahn and his brother, only to be pulled away. Tongin was then blindfolded and shot. Tongsin threw himself on his brother's body and was himself shot.

In two days this local communist revolt was put down and Ahn, the killer of the two boys, was apprehended. Pastor Sohn, hearing that the boy had been seized, sent a pastor friend and his own daughter to plead for the boy's life, offering to adopt the killer of the boys as his own son.

The colonel in charge was so impressed with the request that, after contacting Rev. Sohn to hear the strange request directly from the father, he turned the boy over to Rev. Sohn. Sohn received permission from Ahn's parents to adopt him and witnessed to them and to the boy, later enrolling the boy in the Higher Bible Institute in Pusan. The grateful parents, in turn, asked to adopt one of the Sohn girls to live in their home and to teach them about Christ, promising to see that she was given a good education.

The violent death of the celebrated minister's two sons, followed by his adopting the killer, was like a shock to the whole country. Students were emotionally affected by the story of the two boys and pledged themselves to greater consecration. Rev. Sohn was in even greater demand as a revival speaker.

Then the communists poured across the 38th parallel on June 25, 1950. As they over-ran more and more of South Korea the populace fled before them into the little 50-mile perimeter around Pusan bounded by Masan, Taegu, and Kyungju. Rev. Sohn was at the leper colony and was warned to flee, but chose to stay with his flock. Many were arrested that summer. Rev. Sohn was not arrested until September 13 when he was taken to Yusoo. The jail was so full he was placed with many others, arrested earlier, in an old grain warehouse until Mac Arthur's famous Inchon landing. Before retreating on September 28, the communists tied 75 of the prisoners with straw ropes and led them out by night to a place about three miles north of Yusoo and shot them. Their bodies were found the next day.

Besides Rev. Sohn, Mrs. Yoon, Bible Woman of the First Presbyterian Church of Yusoo, Mr. Kim, Unki, President of the Yusoo YMCA, Deacon Huh, Sangyong, Deacon Kim, Chaisun, all of Yusoo, were among those killed. Rev. Cho, Sanghak of the Dukyang Church and Chi, Hanyung, an older theological student, and two of his sons (one a public school teacher from Ulchon) were among the nine Christians positively identified among the 75 led out for execution at this time.

My informant knew of only two of the 75 who escaped death. One was a non-Christian youth, arrested for his political activities in connection with the South Korean government. He had been able, with the help of a prisoner behind him, to wiggle out of the ropes that held him and make his escape in the dark. He was greatly impressed with the conduct of the Christians during those hot summer days of confinement in the crowded warehouse. He especially spoke of Rev. Cho, Sanghak who had been there since the middle of July. This old pastor had stayed with his flock when the communists invaded, saying, "What would the communists want to do with a man 73 years old?" The young man said Rev. Cho preached, from the day of his arrest, to the hundreds who passed through the warehouse jail that summer. He always asked the blessing over his food in a loud clear voice, remembering in his prayer those imprisoned with him. This was a great comfort to the young man and the other prisoners. The communist guards tried to shut him up but after a brief pause he'd speak up again. The guards took their fingers and stretched his mouth, tearing his lips. Later one punched him in the mouth with his rifle butt badly bruising his mouth. Cho preached to guards and judges of the "people's court" alike. He'd continue witnessing though beaten. He expected to die, and seemed to fear nothing.

The other to escape was a high school boy, the younger son of Chi, Hanyung, the theological student. At the place of execution the prisoners were called by name, a small group at a time, told to strip and lay their clothes in a pile, then told to step forward and be shot. As the boy laid down his clothes he made a bolt for the hills. The Red soldiers fired after him but he made his escape in the nude.

When Pastor Cho's body was recovered the next day, they found that he had been shot in the head from the rear. The bullet coming out in his face disfigured him beyond recognition. He had to be identified through other markings.

His previous suffering under the Japanese, the martyrdom of his two sons, followed by his generosity to the killer, and finally his own martyrdom at the

hands of the communists made Rev. Sohn's case rather outstanding, but many unpublicized saints suffered and witnessed as faithfully. Rev. Sohn and his two sons' martyrdoms have been popularized in a two-volume book written in Korean by the Rev. Ahn, Yongjun, The Atomic Bomb of Love. The book has gone into several editions.¹

CONFLICT WITH CHRISTIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The first conflict between the church and the communists seems to have broken out on the northern border of Korea in the town of Sin Wiju. Under the leadership of two outstanding Presbyterian pastors, Rev. Yoon, Hayung and Rev. Han, Kyungchik, a Christian Social Democratic party was organized in September 1945 just following Korea's liberation after World War II. Branches were organized throughout the area. On November 16, 1945 when a "local" was being organized in Yong Am Po, communists incited laborers in a nearby factory to break up the meeting. In the fight that ensued, a Presbyterian elder was killed on the spot and many were injured. The church building was destroyed and damage was done to the home of Deacon Chang, Wonbong, the president of the local, and other officers. A few days later as a result of the feelings aroused over this bloody communist interference in a political meeting, 5,000 students demonstrated before the communist "People's Government" headquarters, telling them to leave. Korean communists turned machine guns on the unarmed students while Russians machine gunned them from airplanes. Fifty were killed or wounded and 80, including the officers of the Christian Democratic Party, were imprisoned.

INDEPENDENCE DAY CONFLICT

In the spring of 1946, many churches planned services to commemorate their first "Independence Day" since liberation from Japan. March 1, 1919 was the day on which the Koreans had made public a "Declaration of Independence". Fifteen of the 33 signers of that Declaration had been Christians, and the part of the Christians in the Independence Movement was well known. The communists did not want to lose the proaganda advantage of the day and planned their own meetings, forbidding the churches to hold these commemoration services.

In spite of arrests, the Christians went forward with their plans. Spontaneous demonstrations broke out in the streets of Pyongyang and other cities which were forcibly put down. In Wiju a communist mob entered a church, wrecked the pulpit, and dragged the pastor around the city on an ox-cart with insulting placards hung about his neck.

SANSUNGJIN, MANCHURIA

In Sansungjin, Manchuria, 48 elders were arrested by the Russian military authorities and then released. Later they were seized, tried by a "people's court", evidently at the instigation of the same authorities, and killed. One who had been beaten and left for dead survived and eventually escaped to South Korea. The usual "crimes" charged against people by the communists (in order of heinousness) were:

¹An English edition, titled, THE SEED MUST DIE, has recently been issued by Inter-Varsity Press.

- (1) Having been acquainted with Americans
- (2) Having held a government office under the Japanese or Republic of Korea government
- (3) Having been men of means
- (4) Being Christians
- (5) Being intellectuals

As can be seen, there were political overtones in most of these earlier clashes. Some Christians, especially the Reconstruction (Chaigun) Church and the Reestablished (Poku) Church people were against such political activity on the part of Christians and they felt the Christians brought the persecution on themselves. But none, even those who opposed Christians taking such a lead in politics, would deny for a minute that the communists wanted to bring the church under their complete control for their own purpose.

While it too had its political overtones, the first clash where the Christians were united was the Sunday issue raised in connection with the puppet election set for Sunday, November 3, 1946. A meeting was called of the five Presbyteries in North Korea on October 22, 1946, to decide what to do about it. They made the following declaration in the name of the "2,000 congregations and 300,000 church members":

1. Keeping the Sabbath day holy is of the life of the church, so there should be no attendance at things other than worship on the Lord's Day.
2. Government and religion should be kept separate.
3. The respect for God in the church building is the proper duty of the church, so that the use of the church building for other purposes than worship is forbidden.
4. In the event that an acting church officer enters the field of politics, he must resign his office in the church.
5. The church stands for freedom of religion and assembly.

The Reconstruction (Chaigun) and Reestablished (Poku) Churches while not party to this action had already been standing for these five points so except for those completely under the communists' thumb the Presbyterians, at least, were agreed.

The communist reaction to the Christians' refusal to vote on Sunday varied in different localities. In some places it was ignored altogether, in others the pressure was severe. Many ministers were arrested and have not been heard from since. Elders, deacons, and laymen were imprisoned for one, two, or three months, then released.

In Chinnampo, Rev. Kim, Tukmo was condemned to death by a "people's court" for opposing the Sunday elections and urging his congregation not to vote. Another minister, Rev. Yoo, pled for his life, using the argument of expediency, that such an act would cause an unfavorable reaction among the people and even world opinion. Kim's life was spared at the time but later both he and Yoo, who defended him, were imprisoned and have not been heard from since.

In Syenchun the Christians had refused to vote on Sunday but nothing was done about it until a month later when the ministers were rounded up, tried by a "people's court" and beaten. Rev. Lee, Soondo, age 40, died as a result of these beatings. Lee was physically strong and at first defended himself against the mob which was beating him. The communists then ordered "Christians" to beat him to death to prove their loyalty to the communist government.

In many places the Christians went to church for day-break prayer-meeting on November 3 before the polls opened and stayed there, holding meetings, singing, praying, preaching, until midnight when the polls closed. The communists came to Rev. Choi, Choonho, asking him to tell his congregation that it would be all right if they went to the polls at 11:30 at night after the services, but this too he refused. Where churches let out services before midnight, people were taken forcibly from the streets and compelled to vote. Rev. Lee, Chanyoung, now in Pusan, who was in North Korea at the time, says that, while members of the "Christian League" and a few weak Christians may have voted, he guesses that two-thirds of the Christians did not participate in the voting.

It was, in fact, the action of the five Presbyteries that seemed to occasion the setting up of the above-mentioned "Christian League" as a counter measure by the communists.

Pang, Sangsoon, a Presbyterian minister, who had been serving as Kim, Ilsung's private secretary, was put at the head of this "Christian" organization to be used by the communists to bring the church into line. Its platform was:

- (1) We give absolute support to Kim, Ilsung's (communist) North Korean government.
- (2) We do not recognize the legitimacy of the South Korean, Republic of Korea.
- (3) The church is to lead the people.
- (4) Therefore the church should take the lead in the elections (of the Kim, Ilsung government, understood).

A minister from Whanghai Province told me that a Christian was not actually criminally chargeable if he refused to join the "Christian League" but actually failure to do so was to be listed as an enemy of the government and life was made miserable for those failing to do so in many ways. If possible he was arrested on some other count of political opposition to the government.

Evangelist Kim, Changwhan, born in 1927 in North Pyengan Province, studied theology in Japan, and after Korea's liberation became the outstanding leader and Bible teacher of the Reconstruction (Chaegun) Church in Pyongyang. He opposed some of the extreme views on "separation" held by many in the Reconstruction Church. When the leader of the "Christian League" tried to get him to join hoping to win the support of his prestige, Kim reprimanded him for submitting himself to be a tool of the communists. This was reported to the authorities and Kim was arrested. He died as the result of beatings in 1950. His body was recovered and buried by the Christians.

Evangelist Choo, Youngjin, son of the famous martyr under the Japanese, Rev. Choo, Kichul, was accosted by a Seventh Day Adventist minister in the "Christian League", in front of the communist police box and asked why he had refused to join the League. Choo replied, "If a layman asked, I'd tell, but you, a minister, ought to know. All I can say to you is 'Repent'". Christians who had yielded to League membership were forbidden by its rules to meet on any day but Sunday and Wednesday, and then at the convenience of and to support the communist program, but Choo who refused to recognize its authority or control kept Bible studies and conferences going most of the time. Like so many others, on August 3, 1950, he was called out from his home "just for a minute" without any special reason and has not been heard of since.

While membership in the League made one immune to many pressures for the time being, it was useful to you only as long as you were useful to the communists. The story of Rev. Kim, Iktoo, known to many Westerners as the "Billy Sunday of Korea", a man known through the Korean church from the early days, is one in point. In order to get the support of the Five Presbyteries for the "Christian League" Kim, Iktoo was first imprisoned in the cold of winter and not given sufficient food because he would not join. After this man in his 70's had suffered for a couple of weeks, Pang, the head of the "Christian League" just "happened" into the jail where Kim was being held and made quite a show of demanding why this honorable man was being treated in this ignominious fashion. He took Kim home with him, clothed him in nice clothes, and fed him well, and then "convinced" him that cooperation with the communists was more sensible than fighting them. He got Kim to agree to urge the Five Presbyteries to approve of the "Christian League". This soft approach worked on the aging minister but when he put the matter before the Five Presbyteries he got no support. The commissioners, however, knowing that to take an adverse action would mean trouble for them just broke up without taking action. My informant said Kim realized he had made a serious mistake, and returned to Sinchun his home town a man broken in spirit. He did not have the strength to retract his name from the organization, however, and remained as nominal head of the Whanghai Province "Christian League". After Mac Arthur's landing in Inchon when the communists were retreating, Kim, Iktoo was shot to death by communist soldiers in his church.

But this is getting ahead of the story chronologically.

THE CHRISTIAN LIBERAL PARTY

In November 1947 Rev. Kim, Hwasik and Elder Ko, Hankyu organized the Christian Liberal Party centering around the Theological Seminary group in Pyengyang. It was at the time when the United Nations Assembly was planning to discuss the Korean question. Their purpose was to work for the uniting of North and South Korea. Police heard of the proposed organization of this party and on November 19, before it had had a chance to have one meeting, Rev. Kim and 39 others involved in the planning of the organization were arrested and have not been heard of since.

OTHER PRESSURES ON THE CHURCH

It was Rev. Choi, Choonho, one who opposed Christians' involvement in political action on either side, who told me of the various kinds of pressure brought against the church besides some of those mentioned above.

- (1) Christians, along with others, were constantly called out for public works, especially on Sunday. Obedience meant breaking the Sabbath, and disruption of service, while disobedience was considered opposition to the government.
- (2) The people, including Christians, were called together for indoctrination meetings almost daily, but especially on Sundays, with the results mentioned above.
- (3) Children of Christians found it difficult to enroll in Junior or Senior High Schools if "Christian" was written on their application blanks where religious affiliation was indicated.

If they did get into school, things were made difficult for them. They were frequently called back to school on Sundays. My informant said his daughter was expelled from grammar school for silently praying before beginning her classes, and three or four other children in his Sunday school were expelled from school at the same time for the same reason. He as pastor was called to the police station over the matter.

- (4) The communists often demanded the use of church buildings for their political meetings and for posting their political slogans. Refusal meant persecution for the church. Evangelist Choo, Youngjin, whose final disappearance was mentioned above in connection with the Sunday election issue, was one of those who opposed Christians organizing anti-communist political parties and, for the same reasons, refused the use of his church for communist rallies. He was imprisoned one month for refusing to put up a communist poster in his church at Chang Hyun.

THE "NORTH-SOUTH" KOREAN WAR

The greatest number of deaths among Christians took place during the changing fortunes of the "North-South" war after June 25, 1950.

The sudden attack of the North Korean communist troops against South Korea caught the South Korean populace wholly without warning. Many Christian leaders, together with missionaries, Roman Catholic as well as Protestants, were caught up in the net of the invading forces, before they had time to flee. There were some "Christian" leaders, whose theological and sociological views were such that they vainly supposed their Christianity could live within the communist framework. Still others felt that, as shepherds, they dare not leave their flocks even though they knew it meant certain death. Except for those who had completely sold their souls to communism, they eventually received the same treatment. Herded with military prisoners on death marches to the rear, they shared many of the hardships, certainly the anguish and uncertainty. On the 100-mile death march shared by these civilians in November 1950, one reporter states that people died at the rate of one a mile. On one day alone 21 were shot and one died. Of 738 American prisoners taken in September 1950, only 276 survived. Seventy-six were shot, five died of exposure and 16 sick and wounded were left in a compound and were never seen again.

Of the 18 Roman Catholic missionaries, whose average age was 65, ten including Bishop Patrick J. Byrne died as a direct result of communist cruelties during or after the death march. The communists constantly refused to allow captive priests and ministers to hold services or give spiritual assistance to the prisoners, violating even the Geneva Convention.

In Seoul, Dr. Koh of Severance Hospital, Dr. Nam, Kunghyuk, former professor in the Pyongyang Seminary, Dr. Song, Changun and other well-known men disappeared at the time of the outbreak of hostilities and have not been heard from since.

Rev. Chun, Insun died in prison at that time. Rev. Lee, Sungui, one of the professors of Pyongyang Seminary, was shot.

The Anglican Church, Korea Mission, lost three missionaries. Father Charles Hunt was taken from a bed of sickness and survived captivity only a short time. Sister Mary Claire died in captivity and Father Lee disappeared. He was rumored to have been shot.

Even after the outbreak of war churches continued to meet but, of course, the pressure to support the communist war effort was increased.

Evangelist Kim, serving a branch chapel of the Chang Hyun Church 12 miles from Pyongyang, not only refused to join the communist army but refused to carry a card declaring his military status. For this he was imprisoned, beaten and smothered with a quilt. The Christians recovered his badly swollen body for burial. A Sunday school teacher, Kim, Sungchoon, attending the funeral, was strengthened by the example of his witness to death and himself refused to join the communist army. For this he was imprisoned. On the day before the United Nations troops entered Pyongyang, he was called out and asked again if he would fight for the communists. "One word and you will live", he was told. When he said he wouldn't fight, he was bound with wire to about 20 other people, including several pastors and elders. Some of the group were non-Christians. One of the pastors was identified as Rev. Pang, Choonwon. These were taken in a truck by night to an anti-aircraft battery trench, six miles from Soonan, and machine-gunned to death. One of the number helped by a man behind using his teeth to loosen the wire freed himself, dropped from the truck, and escaped in the dark to tell the story.

This was the time following General MacArthur's landing at Inchon when many, many Christians, along with countless others of the population, were slaughtered in cold blood by the retreating communists. There were hundreds of cases, as Dr. Arch Campbell says, of those who came out of hiding too soon to meet the conquering United Nations troops and were summarily shot by the communists who had not yet completely withdrawn.

I told earlier of the 75 led out for execution when Rev. Sohn and Rev. Cho and other Christians were killed in the southernmost port of Yusoo, and the 20 mentioned above who died in South Pyangan Province in North Korea.

On the West Coast of Korea in Yumkwang County of South Chulla Province, one informant said 40,000 people were killed out of a population of 120,000. Whole villages were wiped out by the retreating communists. Three Presbyterian ministers in this county, Revs. Kim, Bangho, Kim, Chongin, and Won, Changkwon were among those killed. In the Yumsan Church with the exception of one son Rev.

Kim, Bangho's family of eight was killed at the same time. Rev. Kim used to tell his parishioners that grace for martyrdom was given by God. Elder Huh of the same church, when faced by the communists, urged them to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and was killed with a bamboo spear. His wife who had been arrested, then released, begged to die with him and was killed. Over 70 in this one church were killed. Some were killed with knives, others had stones tied to their necks and were drowned. In the case of one deacon, the stone slipped out of the rope and he was able to swim away only to be killed with a bamboo spear by communists waiting for him when he came shore.

In the Yawul Church of the same county, the communists gathered the Christians, including the Sunday school children, into the church and killed them, about 80 people in all.

In Pongsan County of Whanghai Province, the Keidong Presbyterian Church usually had about 180 people attending its regular services. After MacArthur's landing the "People's Police" ordered the Christians to gather in the church building. My informant, who belonged to a nearby church in the same county at the time, said "No one thought of disobeying an order of the communist police". Outside of three or four members and the pastor who were out of town at the time, all gathered. The communists set fire to the wooden church building and stood outside to shoot down any who might try to escape. The Christians, evidently realizing that they'd die either way made no effort to escape, having decided, as the narrator interpreted their action, to "die clean". They united their voices in song until the burning building collapsed over their heads and they were all consumed in the fire.

Rev. Han, Choonmyung, now professor in Yonsei College in Pusan, tells of the mass slaughter of close to 300 prisoners from which he himself and six others miraculously escaped.

Rev. Han served a church near the city of Wonsan on the east coast of Korea. He had seen the same pressures brought to bear on the church that have been described in other areas. Christian children in public schools had been made to criticize themselves. Children's "People's courts" were set up and Christian children were judged guilty and expelled from schools by their fellow students. Christian teachers refusing to join the communist labor party lost their jobs. Christians not joining the communist party were given a smaller grain ration than those in the party and found their activities blocked at every turn. When they found life unbearable and reluctantly decided they'd have to leave their centuries-old ancestral homes for south Korea, this was interpreted as being an act of treason and they were often imprisoned or exiled to forced labor camps. Christians were sometimes arrested, then released on condition that they'd be informers against the pastor and other Christians. Rev. Han said that three different members of his congregation showed him forms they had been given on which to make such reports. He said that whenever a stranger appeared in the congregation, the deacons would slip word to the pastor to be cautious of what he said in case the stranger might be a communist spy.

In 1949 a group of ministers and elders in Wonsan attempted to set up an organization to work with the Republic of Korea government in case the 38th Parallel was removed. This was discovered and Rev. Kwon, Uibong (Chairman), Elder Pak, Changheun and a high school teacher, Chang, Choosoo, were arrested and sent to do hard labor in Hamheung. When the United Nations troops drove the communists north, these men were killed together with many Protestants,

Catholics and such non-Christians as were considered to be against the communist government.

Rev. Han himself was arrested on June 30, 1950, just five days after the outbreak of war with seven or eight other Christians. Among them was Rev. Cho, Huiyum (known to many people in Canada), and Elder Kim, Choongsoon. They were held in a crowded prison through the hot summer months of 1950. In October, after MacArthur's Inchon landing on the west coast, word came that American troops had landed in Changjun Bay on the east coast. The prison guards became more watchful and strict. It was estimated that there were between 700 and 800 prisoners in the jail at that time. Before retreating, the communists decided to liquidate these prisoners and set about within a three day period, October 7, 8 and 9, 1950, to dispose of all of them. On the 7th they started by tying rocks to them and drowning them at night. Rev. Han said so many corpses floated that they seemed to reject this method and in turn decided to take them into a tunnel dug into the hills behind the prison and shoot them.

Han was led from his cell at about seven o'clock on the evening of the 8th. On a table in the guard room were great boxes full of hemp cords in two yard lengths as though prepared long in advance for this contingency. His hands were tied behind his back and then he was tied to three other prisoners, four abreast. Prisoners who had been tied up earlier were being moved out into the night. Rev. Han thought they were merely being moved to another location and did not suspect that he was headed for execution. At about three or four in the morning of the 9th he and those tied with him were ordered to march. Outside guards were spaced at intervals up the hillside to the trench leading to the tunnel. As the prisoners stumbled up the hillside the guards would shout back acknowledging the arrival of one quartette and then call to the guard ahead that they were being passed along. It was not until Han entered the tunnel itself that he realized he was to face execution.

At the far end of the tunnel he could see corpses, tied in fours, piled three deep. In front of them was a communist soldier holding a pan of oil in which a light burned and beside him was another soldier with an automatic rifle. Han was so shocked at the sudden realization that he was about to die, he said he hardly had time to pray. He did not ask to have his life spared but prayed for God to protect his 83-year-old father and 4-year-old son and the little church which he had served and then asked God to forgive him if he had hurt anyone with unkind words. The four were ordered to kneel on top of the three-deep pile of corpses, some still moving in death spasms. Han has a bad leg and could not kneel easily so sprawled on them with his legs sticking out behind him. The soldier with the automatic rifle started at the left seizing each person by the collar and shooting him in the back of the head. He could see the face of the first man go down, then the head of the doctor to his left seemed to explode like a bowl. It was now his turn. But at that moment a head among the "dead" in front of them was lifted and the man with the light said "get that black head". The soldier stood on Han's back and fired at the man who had lifted his head. Then, evidently having forgotten he had not shot Han, together with Han's sprawled posture making him look like one of the dead, he went on and shot the fourth man, leaving Han unscathed.

A fifth quartette was marched in and made to get on the pile on top of Han. It was then that, Han said, he had time to give way to fear. Having escaped the direct shot, he feared that the bullet for the man above him might pass through and reach its mark in him. But he was spared. That section of the tunnel was

now boarded up. Then he could hear the march of prisoners continue as they came into the tunnel to be shot. Some, sensing what they were facing came in boldly singing battle songs to strengthen their courage. Last of all he could hear women being brought in crying as they came. The guards on the outside called to them to speed up their work. When all 305 had been "dispatched", he could hear the guards preparing to set off dynamite to close the mouth of the tunnel, and jokingly warning one another to be careful not to bury them both with the others. Han wondered how men could be so callous as to joke at a time like this. The explosion sealed the mouth of the tunnel, but in the providence of God, the tunnel did not cave in, only small amounts of loose dirt fell from the ceiling. Again, providentially, two days later bombs from American aircraft opened a hole in the top of the tunnel. Two high school students, a girl, a farmer, and a doctor, and one other besides Rev. Han, survived the mass slaughter. Even after the hole was opened the survivors were afraid to come out as communists were still lurking in the area. One of the students who ventured forth has not been heard from since.

Eventually the United Nations troops came. Two hundred and ninety-eight bodies were found in this one tunnel. Among them Han identified the above-mentioned minister, Cho, Huiyum and two Roman Catholic priests, but recognized no others. Truly, "a thousand shall fall at thy side and ten thousand at thy right hand but it shall not come nigh thee", without the Heavenly Father willing it.

The picture would not be complete without saying that in the changing fortunes of war when an area was occupied by the United Nations troops sometimes it was elders and church leaders who pointed out those among the populace who had worked for the communists and helped to have them caught and executed. When such an area was retaken by the communists, reprisals against the Christians were rather to be expected. Where Christians had been generous with the "communists" when territory changed hands, there were cases of "communists" being lenient with Christians. It must be remembered that many had been forced into the "communist" camp for survival, and were by no means communists at heart. There were cases in which "Christians" erred in not recognizing this distinction and bringing justifiable hatred on themselves.

Cases of where "communists" were lenient with Christians actually shielding them from other communists or telling them to run, then pretending that they escaped, were usually where the parties involved were not confirmed communists. In one place "communists" lost jobs for protecting Christians.

It is important, I believe, that, however devilish communism may be, we should not forget that the people through which it works are human beings, potential objects of God's electing grace and regenerating power. We have God's Word that Satan and his forces will not prevail for the saints "overcame him because of the blood of the Lamb, and because of the word of their testimony; and they loved not their life unto death".

BOOK NOTES

Compiled by the Editor

CHRISTIANITY AND COMMUNISM

Bates, M. Searle, A CHRISTIAN'S SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY ON COMMUNISM. New York: Missionary Research Library, Occasional Bulletin, 1961, Number 9.

Bennett, John C., CHRISTIANITY AND COMMUNISM TODAY. New York: Association Press, 1960, 188 pp., \$3.50.

The revision of an earlier work by the present head of Union Theological Seminary, New York. A standard work on the field, but lacking the proper biblical perspectives to effectuate a completely satisfactory critique.

Bordeaux, Michael, RELIGIOUS FERMENT IN RUSSIA: PROTESTANT OPPOSITION TO SOVIET RELIGIOUS POLICY. London: Macmillan Company, n.d., 225 pp., 42s.

Conquest, Robert, RELIGION IN THE USSR. London: Bodley Head, n.d., 21s.

Cronin, John F., COMMUNISM: THREAT TO FREEDOM. Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1962, 50¢, paperback.

DeKoster, Lester, COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIAN FAITH. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1962, 158 pp., \$3.50.

The author, serving as the Librarian of Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Mich., has produced a work that has justly earned the applause of many diversified groups. One reviewer speaks of it as "among the most sane, balanced and helpful works seeking to understand Communism and the proper Christian relationship and attitude to it." And all this from the perspective of historic Calvinism!

-----, VOCABULARY OF COMMUNISM. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964, 224 pp., \$3.50.

Another useful work providing a look at Communism from the viewpoint of philology. Excellent dictionary of words, names, ideas used by communists and others plus descriptive bibliographies (pp. 183-199) on Marxism and anti-Marxism.

Hockin, Katherine, SERVANTS OF GOD IN PEOPLE'S CHINA. New York: Friendship Press, 1962, 128 pp., \$1.75.

The International Review of Missions bills this as an "endeavor to explain the attitude of Chinese Christians today by describing the historical forces at work on them, and their reaction as patriots." Whether the "endeavor" is successfully achieved or not can best be judged by a comparison of the era's treatment by Leslie Lyall (see below). This is one reader who is not quite so sure that he "should recognize the

integrity of these our fellows in their search for obedience
..."

Johnson, F. Ernest, A VITAL ENCOUNTER: CHRISTIANITY AND COMMUNISM. New York: Abingdon Press, 1962, 192 pp., \$2.25, paperback.

Written under the auspices of the Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church. "Seeks to understand the powerful appeal of Communism, particularly among people brought up in the Christian faith."

Jones, Francis Price, THE CHURCH IN COMMUNIST CHINA: A PROTESTANT APPRAISAL. New York: Friendship Press, 1962, \$1.95.

Another "fair-minded" appraisal of the Protestant Church and the Government of People's China. In the language of one reviewer, its "balanced view" of the role of the 'Three Selves' Movement shows how "this group has helped to preserve the Church as a 'People's Organization'..." Unfortunately, the "balanced view" of the author has not given equal time to how this group has preserved the Church as God's Organization.

Klugmann, ed., DIALOGUE OF CHRISTIANITY AND MARXISM. London: Lawrence and Wishart, n.d., 110 pp., 7/6.

A reprint from MARXISM TODAY, March, 1966-October 1967.

Lyall, Leslie T., COME WIND, COME WEATHER. Chicago: Moody Press, 1960, 95 pp., \$2.00.

An excellent summary of events in Red China's encounter with the Christian church until 1959. Biblical balance.

NCCCUSA, A CHRISTIAN'S HANDBOOK ON COMMUNISM. New York: Office of Publication and Distribution, NCCCUSA, 1962, viii, 86 pp., \$1.00.

_____, DOCUMENTS OF THE THREE-SELF MOVEMENT: SOURCE MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH IN COMMUNIST CHINA. New York: Far Eastern Office, Division of Foreign Missions of the NCCCUSA, 1963.

An excellent collection of primary source material extending from 1948 through 1962. Invaluable for any study-in-depth.

Singh, Surjit, COMMUNISM, CHRISTIANITY, DEMOCRACY. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1965, 127 pp., \$3.00.

Verkuyl, J., EVANGELIE EN COMMUNISME IN AZIE EN AFRIKA. Kampen: J. H. Kok N.V., 1966, 200 pp.

Written from the same perspectives toward Communist power in Asia that are reflected in the work of Hendrik Kraemer, the book analyzes Communism as "a form of secularized eschatology (a definition more recently being expended in the Theology-of-Hope debates). Some valuable insights.

